Thoughts on the British Elections—*Stephen Spender*

THE *Nation*

November 10, 1951

The "Slick" Mentality

Collier's *Wins World War III*

BY D. F. FLEMING

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Battle for Free Schools

III. Big Business and the Schools

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

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Will He Rule Texas? - - - - - - - - - - *Hart Stilwell*

The Supreme Court Reconsiders - - - - *Harper Fowler*

The Zagreb Congress - - - - - - - - - *Philip E. Mosely*

Preview of the U. N. Assembly - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Get Out Before Sundown!

Elizabethtown, Illinois

A NEGRO boy sauntered into Rosiclare in Hardin County one Saturday afternoon. He was handed a note which read, "Get out of town in fifteen minutes." He did. Nobody seems to know who gives these warnings. Just "somebody."

There are half a dozen small villages in the county, a rock-ribbed fluorspar mining area in the foothills of the Ozarks. All of them, with one exception, exclude Negroes. Only Elizabethtown, the county seat, accepts the Negro as a citizen. Nobody knows just why Elizabethtown says "Welcome" while all the others say "Get out before sundown."

It is strange to find such an attitude in this region. It is true there is a "Southern atmosphere"—even a slight Southern accent which has perhaps drifted over from Kentucky across the mile-wide Ohio River. But Illinois certainly cannot be classed as "South."

For quite a spell, now, Hardin County has been predominantly white and Anglo-Saxon. There are not more than half a dozen foreign-born residents—a sprinkling of Germans and Swiss—in the length and breadth of the county. And of course there are no Jews. The population of the county is 7,497—by the new census—and this includes exactly 29 Negroes, all of whom, save for a rural family of 3 live in Elizabethtown.

Elizabethtown today has 581 people; fifty years ago it had roughly 400 whites and 300 Negroes. There were more jobs around then—a white-oak-tie industry, shipping by river barge, and a limestone quarry. Most of the Negroes have drifted away, but the few who remain have steady jobs. One runs a dry-cleaning shop. The others are farm workers, janitors, housemen, chauffeurs, or cooks. A woman preacher holds forth in a dilapidated little colored church or on the street corner.

The mining of fluorspar is today the only industry. Farms are small and poor. It is generally agreed that any attempt to use Negro labor in the fluorspar mines or mills would cause trouble. "No Negroes employed" is the rule everywhere outside of Elizabethtown, though a colored dance orchestra is found acceptable. Colored labor could be used on a housing project because it was a "federal" job. Negro chauffeurs, driving the cars of mining-company officials or other out-of-town guests, may visit the villages but must go to Elizabethtown for the night. The colored cook at the Elizabethtown hotel may shop in Rosiclare if her white employer goes with her.

One theory as to the origin of Rosiclare's attitude is that a long time ago a Negro family moved into town and a gang of boys—"you know how boys are"—"rocked" them out of town. Some of the townspeople say that Rosiclare does not bar Negroes. "We have no law against Negroes," they explain solemnly, but "there's nothing for them to do; so naturally they don't live here. They don't stay overnight because there's no place here for them to stay." By accident a Negro boy slipped into the movie theater in Rosiclare one night. When he came out, the "grapevine" had worked, and a gang was waiting for him. Literally, he was "rocked" out of town.

Formerly Elizabethtown had a colored school, now closed for lack of pupils. Within the last year, a small colored boy became ready for school. The young principal of the town's only white school urged that the child be admitted to its classes, but the white parents said no. So the principal volunteered to tutor the boy and every day after school went to the boy's home and gave him his lessons.

Recently the Rosiclare basketball team has played southern Illinois teams which included Negroes, but a few years ago when a team with a Negro player came to town for a game, the school authorities thought it prudent to have police on hand. The officers stayed near the Negro player in the dressing-room and after the game accompanied him to the school bus. It turned out to have been a wise precaution, for a gang was waiting for him.

Cave-in-the-Rock also has a "get out before dark" rule. A colored family on a nearby farm is liked and respected in the village, but they must be on their way home before nightfall. Yet Cave-in-the-Rock is occasionally inconsistent—as at the funeral of Aunt Stella Barker, an old colored woman who had lived near town. Her two sons, who had moved away, came back home for the funeral. Cave-in-the-Rock's citizens were sympathetic. "Have the funeral in any one of our churches," they said. The two sons chose the white Methodist Church, and Cave-in-the-Rock people who gathered to pay their last respects to Aunt Stella filled it to overflowing. Aunt Stella had been allowed to do washing and ironing and housework—daytimes—in Cave-in-the-Rock because she was a woman. Her sons couldn't work there.

Once a white farmer in the vicinity hired a Negro farm hand. His neighbors, getting wind of the matter, called at the house, saying they had come "to get the Negro." "If you get him you'll get me first," the farmer said. And he was armed. But the visitors, who were also armed, promptly opened fire and killed the farmer. The Negro fled to safety. Nobody ever found out who did the killing. Nobody tried very hard.

Ironically, Hardin County's big day, its annual "homecoming" and major celebration, is "Emancipation Day," observed on August 8 every year. People from back in the hills and "the bend of the river," come to town in their Sunday best. Old Uncle Harry White, a former slave, started the custom of a barbecue for the colored people. Later, as the Negro population declined, the white folks took over the celebration. The few Negroes still left in the community start the fires in the pits and tend the roasting meat through the night preceding the big day, but the meat is for the white folks.

These facts about Hardin County's intolerance sound as though its scattered hamlets might be unhappy places in which to live. They are not, really. In many ways the community is fine and generous. The pace of life is easy. The countryside is beautiful, with its broad, winding river and low, green hills covered with redbud and dogwood thickets. In its close-knit neighborliness the community is rural America at its democratic best. The few Negroes who call it home like it. But even its most devoted citizens cannot, in truth, deny a certain blemish.

SIDNEY HAMAN

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

IT IS NOW KNOWN THAT THE STATE Department was not one of the agencies in Washington that cooperated with *Collier's* in the preparation of the special issue of October 27, 1951, discussed by Dr. D. F. Fleming on page 392. Apparently what happened is that *Collier's* request for assistance was refused and the State Department suggested that the whole project should be abandoned. Soon after the issue appeared, the department began to receive urgent communications from various embassies in Europe reporting the damaging effect of the publication abroad and asking for a statement disavowing responsibility and rejecting the assumption of an inevitable war upon which the whole feature is based. The department decided not to issue a statement, but in reply to queries from our embassies officials are known to have expressed concern over the impression created by the symposium that war is regarded here as inevitable. On NBC's Critic-at-Large program, Leon Pearson stated that the department wishes *Collier's* had done something quite different—namely, presented a 1960 view of how we won the cold war of ideas and avoided the war of atomic destruction. While it is mildly reassuring to know that the State Department did not cooperate in this ill-considered venture, an open refutation would seem to be in order. Also in order is a statement from the military planners in Washington explaining the extent of their participation in *Collier's* Third World War.

*

MARSHALL AID SAVED WESTERN EUROPE from industrial collapse, but in most countries its tangible benefits have accrued to the owners of industry rather than to the workers. That is the conclusion of a useful survey of the work of the Economic Cooperation Administration published by the New York *Times* of October 29. In West Germany, for instance, the newspaper's correspondents reported that Marshall aid had helped to increase employment but had contributed little to the improvement of living standards. German manufacturers have been able to improve their plants and, presumably, to cut costs, but they have not lowered prices, which have, in fact, been rising faster than wages. The story from France and Austria is similar, while in Italy real wages of industrial workers remain "pitifully low," even though they have risen about 20 per cent above pre-war levels. Reports from Britain and Holland are rather more cheerful. In Britain the planning of the Labor government insured "full employment, increased productivity, and, if not higher wages, a reasonably good and stable living," but Marshall aid proved invaluable in solving for a time the problem of financing essential imports. In Holland, where the government restrained excessive profits, purchasing power and real wealth have increased. The picture then is a spotty one, but by and large it may be said that the E. C. A. program, in helping to increase the production of wealth in Europe, has not done much to change its maldistribution. Yet as the *Times* report says, "It is acknowledged widely that if poverty in the West cannot be eliminated by the increase of wages and the distribution of jobs, democratic policy will lose immense strength." This is a point which was apparently ignored by Congress when it shifted the emphasis of American assistance to Europe from the economic to the military sector.

*

REPORTS FROM MADRID SUGGEST THAT A good many of the Pentagon's Spanish chickens are not going to be hatched. The United States military survey team, headed by Major General James W. Spry of the air force, has departed from Spain without lifting the news blackout which it has vigilantly maintained since beginning work there last August. But according to reports from Spanish sources, quoted by Sam Pope Brewer of the New York *Times*, the American mission no longer has much hope of developing Spain as an "aircraft carrier" and is prepared to settle for a naval base, probably at Cadiz. Franco, it seems—and this is confirmed by a recent interview which he gave to the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior*—has not taken kindly to the idea of air bases controlled by the American army. On the other hand, the United States may well hesitate to invest heavily in air bases which would continue to be commanded by Spanish generals and operated by Spanish personnel. Moreover, after inspecting Spain's obsolete and inadequate transport and communications systems, the American military experts may well have misgivings about problems of supply. Of course some of these difficulties may not be insuperable. Spanish officials are said

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to feel that the $62,500,000 credit specifically authorized by Congress in November, 1950, is an almost insultingly small sum: they hope for $300,000,000 to $400,000,000 more in addition to military aid, and Franco might become more amenable on the subject of air bases if credits on this scale were forthcoming. However, Washington is perhaps beginning to learn, as Hitler did, that while El Caudillo can be bought, it is not easy to keep him that way.

*

AFTER A NINE MONTHS' STALEMATE, MR. Truman has accepted the resignations of the distinguished group of citizens he had appointed, under the chairmanship of Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, to the Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. The commission was appointed on January 23, but its members declined to begin work until they were exempted by law from the "conflict-of-interest" statutes which prohibit anyone connected with the government from engaging in business with the government for two years after the connection has been ended. There was every reason, and ample precedent, for granting the exemption in this case, but Senator McCarran would not hear of it. The Senator, of course, did not want the commission to appraise the McCarran Internal Security Act, which would have been one of its first undertakings. Thus no answer will be immediately forthcoming to the question which the commission was to have explored—namely, how "a free people can protect their security from subversive attack without at the same time destroying their own liberties." The need for a study of this kind is much greater today than when President Truman appointed the commission last January. We suggest, therefore, that the Ford Foundation might be induced to ask the members of the commission to carry out their original assignment under a grant from the foundation. Special problems and difficulties would no doubt arise, but the effect of any report might be enhanced if the commission were privately financed. For one thing, this might permit the commission to examine the role that the President has played in the problem which he asked it to investigate.

*

M. RENE PLEVEN MAY STILL BE PREMIER OF France when the National Assembly meets on November 6—and when the U. N. General Assembly meets on the same day—but his tenure is more insecure with every week that passes. The Radical Socialist Congress at Lyon was torn by a squabble between pro-Socialist and pro-Gaullist tendencies, revealing the deep divisions in its ranks. With astonishing energy the old Radical leader Edouard Herriot called for a final end of the domination of the right. If General de Gaulle is to rule France, he said, let him try it; but if the anti-clerical, progressive forces of the country are not prepared to throw up the

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sponge, it is time they built a government with a program of its own. This was not a call for a new Front Populaire but rather for the return of the Cartel des Gauches—the union of the left—under a Radical Socialist Prime Minister, putting an end to the succession of unstable coalitions with no dependable or unified majority to sustain them in office. The other important speech of the Congress was delivered by Pierre Mendès-France. With the authority of a man whose knowledge of French economic problems is perhaps unmatched, Mendès-France bluntly declared no government would have his support that insisted on trying to do "two impossible things at the same time": continue the war in Indo-China and carry through the rearmament program. Pleven is trying hard to save his government by inviting the Socialists back into the Cabinet. But so far they refuse to join. If the Radicals pull out, the Premier will be hard put to patch up a new coalition.

Recognition: Mr. Truman's Blunder

THE President made a resounding mistake when he announced his intention to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican and send General Mark Clark there as his ambassador. This is now as clear as sunlight. What is not clear is how he came to make it. One by one attempted explanations have been bowled over by facts, and as they have collapsed the consequences of Mr. Truman's blunder have been piling up.

At first it was generally believed that the President had decided to appoint an ambassador to the Holy See so that we might have access to information crucial in the fight against communism. The story ran that the Vatican would give intelligence in return for recognition, not otherwise. This seemed most implausible, first, because the Vatican is at least as concerned about communism as Washington; second, because it would be most surprising if an exchange of mutually useful material had not long ago been arranged; third, because the Holy See has in any case no unique sources of information. This last point was brought out by the Rome correspondent of the London *Times* in an article which appeared only a few days after the White House announcement. Describing the foreign relations of the Vatican, the author remarked that "tempting and a little romantic though it is to imagine that the Secretariat of State is the most formidable information center and intelligence service in the world, it must seriously be doubted if this is so; for all the ability of those who work for the Vatican's foreign service, the very machinery is ill-adapted to perform such feats of excellence."

The listening-post explanation was presently supplanted by the theory that Mr. Truman's action had been prompted chiefly by domestic political interests. One sub-theory held that since the President's refusal to make a recess appointment would force the Senate to vote on the issue after January, his purpose was to put possible Senatorial rivals for the Presidency on the spot, while himself regaining the affections of Roman Catholics whose loyalty had been dented by the attacks of the McCarthyites. Another held that the President was, on the contrary, seeking to insure Catholic support by going through the motions of designating an envoy to the Vatican, although knowing all the time that the appointment would never be ratified and perhaps never even be reported. Both explanations may be a little too intricate, but both contain one dependable ingredient—the President's supreme desire to clinch the Catholic vote in advance of 1952.

It must be assumed that he did not take into account the fierce opposition to General Clark existing in various quarters but above all in Texas, bailiwick of the powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The state holds General Clark personally responsible for the terrible casualties suffered by Texas troops in the unsuccessful assault at the Rapido River in Italy, ordered by the General. Just or unjust, the verdict is unshakable; and Mr. Connally is answering inquiries from Texas with the statement: ". . . the nomination of General Mark Clark failed and is dead." Today Washington takes it for granted that when the nomination comes up again in January it will be held indefinitely in committee.

But if the Texas complication was not foreseen, through some flaw in Mr. Truman's own intelligence service, it seems incredible that he should have failed to realize the general disapproval his action would arouse. Apparently he did just that. From the first the White House made light of the opposition, reporting on October 23 that only 1,100 telegrams had been received (965 against the move), whereas the dismissal of MacArthur had brought in over 5,000, of which 75 per cent were protests. The White House spoke too soon.

The President's action, clumsy and ill-timed, was calculated to magnify all the resentments Catholic policies and tactics had generated in America.

Even while the White House was minimizing public reaction, that reaction began to mount—first, of course, among Protestant leaders. Bishop Oxnam's article, Down the Road to Rome, in last week's *Nation,* sums up with bitter eloquence the objections to Vatican recognition that have since been expressed from almost every Protestant pulpit and by every important Protestant organization, including particularly the National Association of Evangelicals and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Not only are the leaders of these denominations indignant over a move that singles out one church and one faith for preferential recognition; they protest with equal energy its chal-

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lenge to the principle of separation of church and state and its dividing influence in the community. In other words they speak as democrats, not as sectarians.

It is natural that the Protestants should have taken the lead, but from here on the fight must not be left to them. As the National Council said in its statement last week, the issue is in fact one of "basic American principles." The threat of clericalism, so long a destructive political force in Europe, has been brought to the front in America by the President's action. This is more than unfortunate; yet it may have compensations if it arouses all Americans who cherish the traditions of a secular state, with freedom and equality for all faiths. To regard the fight as one between churches would be an injustice both to the Protestants who have initiated the movement of protest and to the issue itself. The opposition should include Jews as well as Christians, the religious and non-religious, individuals and organized groups in a common demand that the President rescind his recognition of the Vatican. There is still time to stop this dangerous act of obeisance to the power of Rome.

Preview of the U. N. Assembly

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 1

THE coming session of the U. N. Assembly, which starts on November 6, will have enough items on its agenda to keep the correspondents happy for a long time. The one which promises the most fireworks is the question of Moroccan independence. When it is introduced by Egypt it will open up a whole complex of problems connected with the increasingly bellicose Arab nationalism and its threat to Western defenses in the Middle East and North Africa. There will also be all kinds of maneuvers and counter-maneuvers to obtain or prevent the admission of new members; backers of Franco like Señor Belaunde of Peru will make every effort to get Italy in so as to prepare the way for Franco. The friends of Franco are also counting on Churchill's victory, which was tumultuously celebrated in Madrid, to smooth the way for him.

Other matters to be taken up are Korea, Palestine, and Kashmir, international control of atomic energy, and the report of the Economic and Social Council on the lamentably neglected Point Four and other forms of aid to underdeveloped countries—quite enough to keep the Assembly on its toes.

Nevertheless, the old issue of relations between East and West, or, to be exact, between Russia and the United States, will inevitably dominate the session. This is partly because of the time element. The armament race has been on everybody's lips for some time, and now there is talk of the "negotiations race." (This may well be won, like the horse races on Atlantic liners, by the contestant that comes in last.) Dean Acheson's theory of peace through strength foresaw that in 1953 or 1954 the United States and its allies would be strong enough to talk to Russia as equal to equal. But this theory ignores the fact that strength depends on more things than the number of men a country can place in the field. There are economic and political factors which are just as important, among them the decisive one that Europe may collapse under the burden of rearmament. Only last week, at a meeting of the Committee of Experts appointed at the Ottawa conference, Jean Monnet, High Commissioner of Modernization and Equipment, voiced his anxiety lest the "accelerated" rearmament now demanded have a disastrous effect on the French economy. May I say here that Jean Monnet was the author of the most intelligent plan for the reconstruction of Europe devised since the Liberation? If it had not been superseded by the Marshall Plan, and if the cold war had not intervened, it would have produced a very different France from that of today.

Americans who believe in peace through strength only forget that while Western Europe is straining to carry out its rearmament commitments the countries behind the iron curtain are being built up economically, politically, and militarily. With real wages falling constantly and governments becoming more and more reactionary and anti-labor, a situation is developing in the West which it will be fatally easy for the Russians to exploit. Of course nobody but the Communists would deny that Eastern Europe is also experiencing difficulties. Czechoslovakia has had to ration potatoes, and Poland lacks feed for its livestock. But the effects of these shortages on the total national picture are not so serious as that of the increasing poverty of the workers in France. Conditions here will be extremely critical this winter.

These are only some of the reasons why the diplomats gathering in Paris believe the coming Assembly will see important developments in the "negotiations race." All informed observers are convinced that the Russians will be disposed to make concessions, but only up to a certain deadline. Thus unless a real diminution of the present tension is achieved in this session, the situation is expected to become much worse. A high official said to me, "It is peace or war that will be decided here." He did not mean that war will break out in March or June or October if the Assembly cannot bring about a rapprochement but that the Kremlin will revise its policy on the assumption that the West has no intention of negotiating until it is strong enough to impose its own terms. The Soviet Union is not Nicaragua.

The Russians will probably prefer private talks among a few realistic individuals—that is, in the corridors, or in a Big Four conference—to public discussions on the floor, especially since they know that the American

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majority will be reinforced by a new British delegation which will not speak out as Sir Gladwyn Jebb did at times. But they will hardly renounce entirely the vitriolic denunciations of Anglo-American policy at which Mr. Vishinsky is so adept. Better trade relations, whose value as a bridge between East and West was indicated in my last article, Peace Through Trade, will undoubtedly be discussed in these private conversations. It was to promote them that the Russians proposed an economic conference at Moscow, plans for which are being prepared by Dr. Oscar Lange, the distinguished Polish economist, who was Poland's ambassador at Washington and its delegate in the U. N.

Senator Austin's first statement on his arrival here, concerning his intention to form a solid front against the admission of Communist China, has been received in United Nations circles as a sign that the Assembly faces difficult going. On the eve of the opening countless rumors are circulating about the attitude and plans of the various delegations. Those most worthy of attention are (1) that Anthony Eden hopes Germany may eventually be the subject of negotiations with Moscow; (2) that the Russians have decided to work for a Big Four Conference, having given up for the moment the idea of bringing in China (they will, however, attack Anglo-American policy in the first public sessions while they maneuver for an agreement behind the scenes); (3) that the Americans—this on excellent authority—will refuse to enter into real conversations with the Russians until the Korean affair is settled, a condition which has been coldly received by the other partners in the Atlantic coalition, who believe that peace can be more easily established in Korea within the framework of a general accord.

The General Talks

Paris, November 1

JUST before he was recalled to Washington for "consultations," General Dwight Eisenhower added to the worries of the French public by two statements. The first was his announcement that two years hence American troops would begin to withdraw from Europe, which by that time would be "fit to look after itself"; the second was his suggestion—in the interview he gave to the French weekly, *Paris-Match*—that war was possible though not inevitable, for although the Russians knew that by invading Europe they "would win a battle but lose the war," they might go on "nibbling" here and there, and "America might make the mistake of reacting too sharply to certain provocations" (presumably whether Europe liked it or not). Eisenhower also foresaw another danger: although by the end of 1952 the Russians would be "even less likely than now" to attack Western Europe, the Atlantic powers would by then be fully armed and would "have to take the risk of a showdown"; and this, he said, would be "a delicate moment for peace."

Exactly what kind of "showdown" would take place the General did not say, except that it would be "a stormy one," which rather suggests that some kind of ultimatum would be presented to Moscow. But the risk was "worth taking." And if there was to be fighting, the Western armies might be sent to southern Russia or to "the area round Leningrad"!

On the subject of Germany, Eisenhower said that the Grotewohl proposal had brought unification much nearer, and that it was for the West to persuade the *whole* of Germany to join the Atlantic military system. This is of course tantamount to saying that West German rearmament, which the Russians, and not only the Russians, are so anxious to avoid, should be supplemented by the rearmament, against Russia, of East Germany as well. This is, needless to say, a handsome contribution to an East-West *détente* and to a solution of the German problem!

To France, Eisenhower was fairly charitable. Its rearmament effort, he said, was "at least equal to that of other countries," but not good enough, because France was rather a special country from which one had the right to expect a special effort and greater enthusiasm and self-sacrifice—why not 1792 *("La patrie en danger")* all over again, or a revival of "the spirit of Verdun"? To try to arouse French enthusiasm for the holocaust of Verdun at this stage is like asking Americans to thrill with delight at the prospect of another Battle of the Bulge; decidedly, other people's psychology is not always the forte of American generals.

In conclusion, after paying tribute to France's effort in Indo-China, Eisenhower complained of the unfriendliness of many French people toward the American soldiers and airmen here, and of the "U. S. Go Home" scribbled on walls, which made a deplorable impression on the Americans here and their families back home. It was, Eisenhower said, ungrateful and ungracious to behave like this toward people who were here only to "protect France against a grave danger," and who had no intention of staying longer than necessary. He thought it was "almost the duty" of the French press to explain this to the French people.

Political observers here believe that this and other statements made lately by General Eisenhower are connected with the possibility of his running for the Presidency in 1952. Whereas he is opposed to war in the Far East, he, like Truman, is suspected of being ready to risk a showdown in Europe. Hence his statement about the withdrawal of American troops from Europe seems somewhat illogical, coming from the head of N. A. T. O., unless it is recognized as an election maneuver directed against both Taft and the Democrats. A. W.

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Thoughts on the British Elections

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

London, November 1

ELECTIONS in England are not what they used to be. In the old days they were fought on great issues—Ireland, free trade, Hang the Kaiser, and the like. Liberals and Conservatives represented sections of one ruling class, with opposing views on how its possessions should be run. Labor represented revolution.

Today the country is almost exactly divided into two parties—the Liberals hardly counting, except as a worry to the others. The revolutionary party has achieved quite a degree of revolution, the aristocracy having been dispossessed to the extent that dispossessing them still farther would help nobody. Instead of the Conservatives owning everything and Labor owning nothing, the two parties, to some degree representing different classes, have interests heavily vested in each other. Whichever party is in power becomes the curator of the other's interests. Labor, while achieving a good deal of nationalization and socialization, nevertheless protected the managers of industries, officials, and the small English intelligentsia from complete proletarianization. Since the aim of the workers is to become respectable, middle-class, and safe, there was no point in completely wiping out the middle class. The Conservatives have now become the curators of the interests of the workers—social insurance, nationalization, and the rest. Neither side wants or can afford to provoke open class warfare.

About half the people of England now consider they belong to the immense state interest which is called Labor, and about half consider themselves more individualistic, superior, and so on—with the result that they are on the Conservative side. Whether they are Labor or Conservative has become for millions of people not a matter of opinion but a fact about themselves, like whether they live in Birmingham or Manchester. A man who accompanied the poll-takers so that he could make predictions about the elections in his foreign broadcasts told me that many people, when asked how they would vote, replied simply, "I'm Labor" or "I'm Conservative," as though it were an immutable fact.

A good many others took a more sporting interest in the election. They said they always liked to back the winning side: last time they had voted Labor and Labor had won; this time they would vote Conservative, because they thought the Conservatives would win. One or two said they would vote Conservative because, under the Health Scheme, the last government had fitted them with a bad set of false teeth.

It is quite clear that principles and policies play little part in the division of the population into two great blocks. After several years of governing Labor is now an accomplished fact, like a large piece of property, and those who live in an industrial landscape know they are Labor. The names of the political parties no longer represent opinions. As Conservatives have often said to me lately, "The fatal thing about us is that we are called Conservatives."

The issues on which each party attempted to fight the election were bogies raised in the attempt to scare supporters of the other side. The Conservatives raised the bogy of Bevanism, trying to frighten Labor by asserting that the party was more extremist than Attlee and Morrison, that Bevan lurked behind the scenes like a Zinoviev letter. Labor tried to scare people with the cry that Churchill would provoke another war. But perhaps the most effective propaganda was the Conservative poster stating simply "YOU NEED A CHANGE." This appealed to the wavering margin of people who vote for the other side out of sheer boredom and to the hypochondria of a nation provided with Health Services.

Many people might like a coalition government. Certainly there is a realization that the division of England into two parties does not reflect a division of policies, and that perhaps what England needs is the best brains of both parties. However, the more identical the policies of both parties, the more important it becomes to each not to coalesce. If they coalesced, one would swallow up the other. In this respect the English situation resembles that in America, where, just because it is so difficult to distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, it is important for each side to emphasize the distinction.

The real differences between the parties is found of course in the personalities of their leaders. A lot of people must have voted for Churchill against Attlee and a few for Anthony Eden as Foreign Secretary against Herbert Morrison. I am told that feelings of humiliation about Persia and Egypt were expressed by the public during the election more vigorously than had been expected. For the English have learned to take these things very quietly—to stifle feelings of bitterness and resentment, while indulging the sense of guilt about their empire which they have acquired from a critical world.

The foreign policy of the Conservatives will not differ fundamentally from that of Labor. All the same, a difference of emphasis may change the whole situation.

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Churchill may get on better with the Americans; the Conservatives may be more friendly to the idea of European Union; the Moslems may feel less inclined to kick at Eden than at Herbert Morrison.

The most important issue of all today was not mentioned during the campaign—the crisis into which England is said to be running. It was not mentioned because a solution for it is hardly possible on party lines. The solution is a matter of making people produce more, and of selling more abroad. The Conservatives will have to do just what Labor would have tried to do—while protecting the standard of living of the workers.

There will be another election in eighteen months or two years, and the result may well reflect the same equal division of the parties. The things which might alter this would be (1) for the Conservatives to do what Disraeli might have done—steal the Socialist thunder by accomplishing something sensational (for example, in housing) to improve conditions for the workers; or (2) for the Conservatives, in pursuing a weaker edition of Attlee's policy, to fail in a way to discredit both them and Attlee, thus giving Bevan a chance to produce a policy which looks like a clear alternative to those agreed on today by both Conservatives and Labor.

The Zagreb Congress

BY PHILIP E. MOSELY

ATTENDED by some two hundred leaders of opinion coming from twenty-three countries, the Zagreb Congress, held October 23-27, inevitably became a battle-ground for conflicting views as to the causes of present tensions and the way to alleviate them. "Neutralists," like Agnès Humbert from France, made determined assaults upon American and Soviet policies alike. Outright non-resistant pacifism had eloquent exponents. Vigorous speakers from Morocco, French Africa, and Madagascar won widespread sympathy, but the congress refused to agree with them that all international tensions derive from the failure of certain colonial peoples to have achieved national status. Some orators tried to establish that Yugoslavia, as a Communist-led but not Soviet-dominated regime, had a kind of prescriptive right and duty to form and lead a "third force" independent of both blocs. It was noticeable that the Yugoslav delegates gave no support to this ambitious claim but rather strove to emphasize Yugoslavia's desire to cooperate with all governments and all segments of opinion which oppose the outbreak of a new war and which uphold the rights of small nations to manage their own affairs.

The great majority of those present, whether as representatives of organized opinion or as individuals speaking for themselves, gave their support to the principle of collective security, to be achieved through strengthening the United Nations. After two days of speeches in which the burning word "Korea" was mentioned only once—and then the Chinese-Korean and United Nations forces were placed in exactly the same category as destroyers of peace—spokesmen from France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the United States rallied, amid applause from most of the benches, to emphasize that United Nations resistance in Korea represented a new and valuable factor in the slow and painful elaboration of a workable system of international defense of peace.

The majority view found expression in the ten principles which were formulated by the leading Yugoslav spokesman, Dr. Josip Vidmar, in his opening address. After wide-ranging and completely uninhibited discussion, this draft was embodied in the final resolutions adopted by the congress by an overwhelming majority, with eighty-seven in favor, nine abstentions, and no negative votes.

Point 1 urged mutual respect for the independence of states and full equality in relations among states. Point 2 emphasized the right of each nation to self-determination and to freedom from economic, political, or military pressure by other states. The Resolutions Committee added a provision "welcoming the fact that some nations prefer to follow an independent policy rather than to join one or another power bloc." Point 3 attacked military, economic, and propaganda pressures. Point 4 called for strengthening the United Nations in every way "as a mighty weapon for the peaceful solution of international disputes." The original Yugoslav proposal favoring the admission of all states to the U. N. was modified, in the Resolutions Committee, to exclude Franco Spain as a regime which had come to power by fascist interference and which continued to oppress its people.

Points 5, 6, and 7 called for the "just solution of the colonial question," rejected any claim of the Big Five to monopolize the power of international decision, and urged economic aid to underdeveloped countries. Point 8 urged a struggle for fundamental rights and freedoms throughout the world, including the right to

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work and to social insurance and the elimination of national discrimination in multi-national states. Point 9 demanded reduction of armaments but realistically asserted that this must be preceded by the establishment of confidence among states and should not permit any state or group of states to carry out aggression and thus increase the danger of war. Point 10, on the development of cultural relations and the free flow of information among nations, was broadened in the Resolutions Committee to urge the free interchange of visitors. The Resolutions Committee, composed of twenty persons from thirteen countries, became a continuation committee, and the congress voted to meet again in some other country one year later.

The national groups varied greatly in strength and representative quality. This variation reflected primarily the degree of success of the Yugoslav effort in issuing the invitations and eliciting cooperation. The strongest national group, that from France, included outstanding deputies from the Socialist and the M. R. P. parties, among them André Denis and Léon Boutbien; influential editors, such as Pierre Corval of *L'Aube* and Elie Péju of the *Franc-Tireur*; and Michel Collinet and André Lafond of the *Force Ouvrière* trade unions. The Belgian and Italian groups were also strong. If a broadly representative international committee had undertaken the preparatory work, the other delegations would no doubt have been more distinguished.

On balance, the Zagreb Congress was a success for the Yugoslav position. Many speakers referred warmly to the Yugoslav struggle against Hitler and against Soviet dictation; some praised highly the country's effort toward economic reconstruction. The proceedings assured the Yugoslav people that they are not alone in their struggle for independence. The Congress was also designed to show influential people abroad that the Yugoslav dictatorship differs from the Soviet system in welcoming the free expression of many divergent views. If anything, the Yugoslav organizers leaned over backward to facilitate the freest possible exchange of opinion on the problems of peace, human rights, and international cooperation. A serious blemish on this record is that in reporting the proceedings influential Yugoslav newspapers like *Borba* omitted most of the statements which showed that economic and social progress is by no means a monopoly of "socialist" regimes or which praised the Atlantic Pact, the Schuman and Pleven plans, and, in general, the positive role of the Western democracies.

Collier's *Wins World War III*

BY D. F. FLEMING

ON OCTOBER 27, 1951, *Collier's* magazine won World War III. The entire issue—ten months in the making—was devoted to the story of "Russia's Defeat and Occupation, 1952-1960." Thirty-four celebrated authors collaborated in the winning of the war, all engaged on "Operation Eggnog," a 60,000 word office blueprint of the conflict based on "study and consultation with political, military, and economic thinkers, including high-level Washington officials and foreign-affairs experts both here and abroad." It was therefore a quasi-official American plan for World War III.

The leading article, by Robert E. Sherwood, begins the war on May 10, 1952, with an abortive attempt on the life of Marshal Tito and carries it through many pages of carnage until, after years of destruction, "the light is now shining in Russia and in all the other darkened places of the earth."

The Russians virtually wiped out our Hanford, Washington, atomic plant, Detroit, New York, Washington, Philadephia, and Chicago with atomic bombs. At first we used the bombs only against military targets. Our great weapon was atomic artillery, which destroyed the massed "concentrations of docile flesh and blood" of the Soviet armies in Europe. It was only after our great cities had been bombed a second time, months later, that Moscow was finally, and somewhat sadly, A-bombed "from bases in the United States." Edward R. Murrow describes the mission. Then from Middle Eastern bases a great air-borne expedition, reported by Lowell Thomas, raided the Soviet A-bomb nest in the Urals. Widespread revolt broke out, and the monolithic Soviet empire finally disintegrated. Only Eastern Europe and the Ukraine, plus Moscow, were occupied by our troops. The magnanimous Denver declaration of the U. N. had already weaned China away. Afterward UNIHOPE, the United Nations Housing and Providing Enterprise, assisted the not too devastated or unhappy Soviet peoples to recover from the terrible struggle.

The horrors of Soviet rule, especially as portrayed by Arthur Koestler, made liberation by force an unquestionable necessity. It was a frightful ordeal for the Americans, the war going through three long and bloody stages, described by Hanson Baldwin. He and other writers review the thirty-eight years of the Soviet regime's

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history and end it definitely in the year 1960. The reader puts the magazine aside with a clear impression of this terminal date for the red menace. Soviet Russia is consistently mentioned in the past tense.

After the conquest Stuart Chase found the Russians well supplied with food. "Plenty of horses and oxen" remained in the supposedly mechanized countryside. The industries of the cities had been destroyed, after ten- or thirty-day warnings to the people, and "an industrial vacuum" had resulted, but "strangely enough the whole economy did not collapse," and the peasants "somehow remembered their handicraft patterns." After "years of famine and chaos," marked by "gangs of juvenile criminals" and "a resurgence of the plague on a scale never before equaled" (Koestler), there was a satisfactory return to normal conditions.

J. B. Priestley's contribution is entitled The Curtain Rises. There was "a huge, excited demand for anything foreign and Western, for books and plays, pictures, films, ballets, and operas." Unfortunately commercial radio was impossible in Russia, but a system patterned after the BBC was set up. Erwin Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor* tells how the presses were started as the Russians "turned hungrily to the world." There was not much newsprint but the newsstands were loaded with Russian editions of *Collier's, Life, Time, Newsweek, Reader's Digest,* and the *Saturday Evening Post.* "Free thoughts, free words," became the order of the day. Allan Nevins found the schools "healthfully decentralized" and "a surprising supply of teachers."

No long, costly, backbreaking occupation was necessary. The Soviet peoples were forbidden to have a dictatorship, and force was not needed to carry out the decree. True, twenty parties entered candidates in the Kharkov municipal election and many voters at first said "yes" to everything, but the Russians soon learned about democracy from us. There was little corruption, of course. By 1960 Walter Reuther, who writes on Free Men at Work, found labor unions unhampered by any Russian counterpart of the Taft-Hartley act. Russian workers had already "got the idea of one world, of one side, of people everywhere working together to build a good life, of striving together to fashion the future in the image of peace and freedom."

The liberated women of Russia felt the greatest relief. The wives of MVD and prison officials were summarily dispatched. Marguerite Higgins "personally had counted several score naked female bodies hanging in the bombed desolation of Red Square." By 1960 black markets had disappeared—except one in high-heeled shoes. The longing of Russian women for "perfumes and silks" was gratified by fashion shows held in the huge Dynamo Stadium. "Queues of women, many miles long," waited to get in.

In 1960 the Olympic "carnival" was also held in the Moscow stadium. As reported by Red Smith of the New York *Herald Tribune,* the Russian papers conceded that "the big team from the United States will carry off the major share of the honors, as usual" but were confident the Russians would win some championships. There would be some wrangling and bickering, naturally, but "that sort of furor is a healthy thing. It is the voice of a friendly world at play." The American passion for winning every game had nothing to do, of course, with the struggle for world mastery.

WHAT was the purpose of this pregnant issue of *Collier's?* To what extent has it been achieved? What are the likely results?

The editors say they had three aims, of which the first was "to warn the evil masters of the Russian people that *their* vast conspiracy to enslave humanity is the dark, downhill road to World War III." Total evil on the Russian side and total purity on ours are taken for granted. If this assumption is true, then all the wonderful things described in the magazine will eventually come to pass. In the meantime, however, the "evil masters of the Russian people" have been presented with 130 pages of evidence showing that the West means to force its superior way of life on the Soviet peoples. There are pictures of the destruction of Moscow, of the Red Army Theater staging a production of "Guys and Dolls," of the Moscow stadium filled with Russian women gazing raptly at an American fashion model. Just for emphasis, the cover is a picture of an American M. P. dominating a map of the Soviet Union with his bayonet. If there is any power at all in the Communist ideology, these predicted scenes should be grist to its propaganda mills, from Britain across Eurasia to Shanghai.

The editors' second purpose was "to sound a powerful call for reason and understanding between the peoples of the West and East—before it is too late." I can find nothing in the issue which furthers this aim except possibly the portrayal of the other-worldly restraint with which we conducted the war—in contrast to the way we, along with everybody else, conducted World War II—and the boundless magnanimity with which we treated the Russians afterward.

The third was to demonstrate that if the War We Do Not Want is forced upon us, we will win. This thesis is abundantly supported, but the disturbing thought remains that wars do not always go according to *Collier's.* The magazine does not suggest, for example, that the Russians might turn up with our decisive weapon, atomic artillery. And even the most devoted blueprint for victory may overlook some imponderables which could prove decisive. By failing to include atomic bombing of Russia from European or African bases the *Collier's* plan betrays grave doubt that our European allies would permit such use

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of their bases, but it does not otherwise even suggest the natural reluctance of the British and West European peoples to be destroyed in a struggle between the two giant antagonists. Yet the passion to survive in Western Europe may be the factor which will dislocate all our calculations.

Every intelligent inhabitant of Western Europe knows, in the marrow of his bones, that a third world war will finish his country—its people, its cities, its future. Two world wars have toppled the region from a position of world ascendancy to one of weakness and dependence. Another must complete the destruction. Americans may survive the loss of their great cities to carry their way of life to the Soviet peoples deep in Eurasia, but Western Europe knows that the third knock of the grim reaper will be the last.

This issue of *Collier's* should powerfully reinforce its determination to find some way to avoid the war which American immaturity in world politics is shown likely to bring on. We are a young people on the world scene. We were involved in two world wars against our will; now for the first time we have deliberately taken a hand in the game of global power politics. And we are an impatient, impetuous people, never defeated and therefore invincible. The vulnerable Europeans will find in these pages convincing evidence that if they cannot avert the clash they must take refuge in neutrality.

The *Collier's* editorial, headed The Unwanted War, begins by rejecting "emphatically" the concepts of inevitable war and preventive war. At the same time it makes it clear that the responsibility for the unwanted war to come rests wholly on the men in the Kremlin. Everything is up to them. They "must make the choice. They can roll up the Iron Curtain. Or they can start a war and have it shot down." They can "cease to subjugate their captive neighbors . . . or . . . see those countries' independence restored by force." The Soviet government "must change its outlook and policies . . . or . . . disappear from the face of the earth. The Kremlim must decide."

Each of these ultimatums contains the saving phrase "if they start a war," but each unmistakably threatens doom for the Soviet government unless it changes its ways. As one reads the whole issue, one can only ask: What would we think if a Soviet magazine devoted an entire number to picturing in detail a Russian conquest of the United States and the destruction of the American way of life? Would we conclude that the Soviet Union was bent on avoiding a fight with us?

THE effects of the issue upon the several million Americans who will see it will doubtless vary. I gathered that it wished to make four chief points: (1) The Soviet regime is so intolerable that it must be ended. (2) It is so vicious that it intends to start a world war and A-bomb our greatest cities. (3) Our power is sufficient to destroy the red rulers and liberate their slave subjects, from Berlin to Vladivostock. (4) The war will be a severe ordeal for us, but afterward life will go on as before in a free world of our own making, dedicated to eternal peace, really organized this time by us.

Some Americans, reading about the destruction of our chief cities, may doubt this benign outcome, but most people will refuse to believe that the Soviet A-bombs will get through—not after we have our radar screens, clouds of planes, guided missiles, and all the other miraculous weapons hinted at in official statements and the press. Being the world's greatest gadget makers, we shall hardly fare as badly as *Collier's* predicts.

This skepticism is strengthened by the character of the distinguished authors. *Collier's* could have easily assembled a galaxy of radio commentators, columnists, and others who have for years been steadily preparing the American people for war with Russia. Yet with the exception of Walter Winchell, this group is not represented. Instead, the table of contents shows a long list of people of moderate views, of progressive, non-belligerent instincts, people who have not joined in sounding the war drums. As one reads, one wonders how each author came to take part in the enterprise, and whether any of them really understood what the impact of the whole would be. If many of them did, then it is much later than we thought.

IT IS indeed late for anyone to suggest that war is more likely to destroy free American institutions and democratic capitalism than to spread them triumphantly over the earth. Out of World War I we got communism in the nation covering the greatest single land area on the globe; out of World War II we got communism in the most numerous nation on earth, which is also the oldest, toughest, and most indestructible. In both cases the thing happened because of the dislocations, disintegrations, and chaos of war. In both cases also the West did its level best to stem the revolutionary uprising of the people and failed. In 1945, as on a smaller scale in 1918, the engines of war had blasted the old order to bits and it could not be put back together again. The result in Europe has been suggested—loss of empire, direction, and purpose; nearly half the people turned Socialist or Communist. We cannot annihilate homes, livelihoods, and capital goods—the very lifeblood of capitalism—without smashing the old way of life. It is tempting to think that just one more epoch of bombing would really settle everything. Quite probably it would, but would the settlement be what we anticipate? Would not the forces loosed in the other two wars grind through to their final conclusion?

A number of humane, imaginative Americans have

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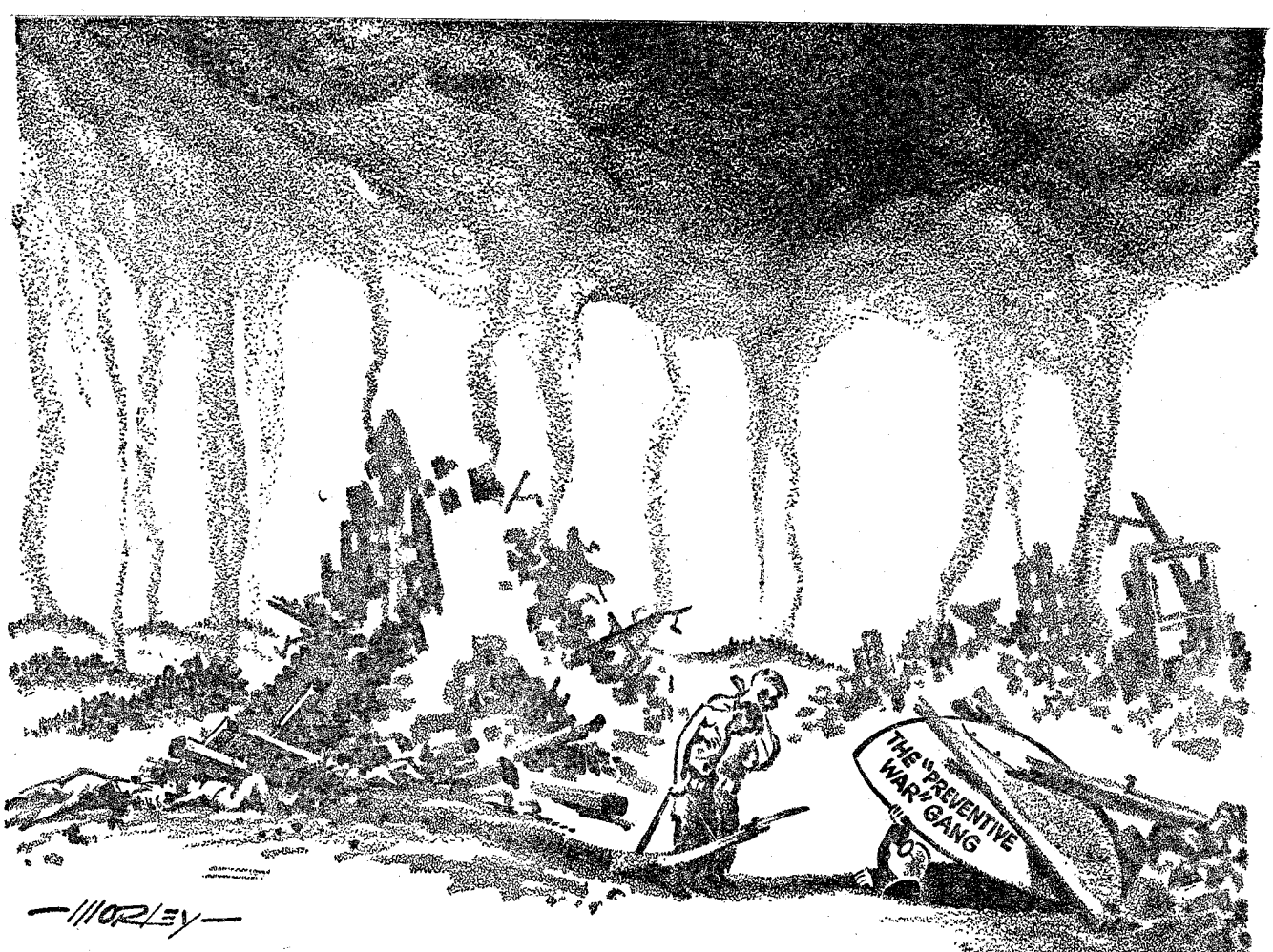
constructed a picture of 200,000,000 Soviet citizens embracing their American liberators, after thirty-eight years of subjection to their "evil masters." Against this comfortable expectation it will probably avail little to quote Count Schulenberg, the experienced German ambassador to Moscow who tried to dissuade Hitler from attacking Russia. The Rumanian ambassador to Moscow, Grigoire Gafencu, has left an arresting report of his colleague's basic reason for opposing the adventure. Schulenberg and his corps of specialists in Moscow had studied Communist Russia long and thoroughly, in years when it was much easier to do so than it is now. They concluded that if the German armies did destroy the Soviet government, nothing but "profound and irremediable" anarchy could be substituted for it. The Germans would then advance "through indescribable confusion," provoking "a new revolution, a revolution of general disintegration," which would strike at both the victors and the vanquished.

The few hundreds of men who are, in the main, forming our attitude toward another world war should not assume that democracy and capitalism will survive on this continent, a bit bruised but permanently safeguarded. The contrary assumption is the "realistic" one. The advancing tide of witch-hunting, character assassination, purges, and thought control in the United States would rapidly submerge all our freedom if we went to war with Russia. A war which became, however it was begun, an effort to exterminate world communism would bring a fascist dictatorship in the United States strong enough to suppress every vestige of dissent in the Western nations and to obtain the endless levies of men and resources we should require to control a ruined and barbarized world.

In our time the business of fighting world wars, whether nationalistic or ideological, is played out. Never again can any victory be won which will promote the values we are most concerned about. These values, whether inherent in private enterprise or in civil liberties, can be conserved only by exerting ourselves mightily to prevent a third world war.

Another world war is neither inevitable nor necessary, but unless many powerful voices are raised in this country in favor of moderation and restraint we are headed straight toward a "war of liberation" "for unlimited and unattainable objectives," to quote the remarkably wise and pungent letter of William R. Matthews, publisher of the *Arizona Daily Star,* in the New York *Times* for October 31. He warned that "we are being shouted into a catastrophic war by the opinion makers of this country." The bell does not toll alone for the men in the Kremlin. It tolls for all of us.



"OKAY, WE PROVED WE CAN LICK 'EM. WHAT DO WE DO NOW?"

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The Supreme Court Reconsiders

BY HARPER FOWLER

THE Supreme Court, in an action with rare precedent, reversed itself recently and decided to reconsider its refusal to review the case of the lawyers convicted of contempt of court in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders. On the last day of the 1950 term the court had disposed of the principal case, in which Dennis and his co-defendants were convicted, by upholding the constitutionality of the Smith act, and had also denied certiorari in the lawyers' case. Justices Black and Douglas dissented from both actions.

The court's rule requires full review of a case if as many as four justices so vote. Thus at least two members of the court other than Black and Douglas must now consider the case of the lawyers of sufficient national interest to warrant review. To be sure this does not mean that the four who so voted will wish to reverse the conviction. It is conceivable that the lower court will be affirmed by a unanimous opinion. This is unlikely, however, in view of the highly controversial issues involved. The decision of the Court of Appeals was not unanimous. Judges Augustus Hand and Jerome Frank wrote separate opinions upholding Judge Medina, while Judge Clark dissented sharply. The Supreme Court will not review the question whether the behavior of the lawyers was in fact contemptuous but only the procedural and constitutional questions implicit in Judge Medina's summary disposition of the matter. Here they are.

The federal Rule of Criminal Procedure on punishment for contempt is supposed to codify the Supreme Court's past decisions on the subject. These, in turn, reflect a legislative and common-law tradition which has evolved over the years. The rule provides that "a criminal contempt may be punished summarily if the judge certifies that he saw or heard the conduct constituting contempt and that it was committed in the presence of the court." Contempts other than these may be prosecuted only "on notice," stating the time and place of hearing and "allowing a reasonable time for the preparation of the defense." Moreover, "if the contempt charged involves disrespect to or criticism of a judge, that judge is disqualified from presiding at the trial or hearing except with the defendant's consent."

Clearly Judge Medina proceeded in summary fashion. After the jury brought in its verdict of guilty against Dennis and the others, he looked at the lawyers and said, "Now I turn to some unfinished business." He then read from a contempt certificate which found the lawyers, collectively, guilty of some forty specified contempts. Were they committed in his presence, so that he saw or heard them? This is what the judge himself said:

> By way of preliminary, I may say that I would have overlooked or at most merely reprimanded counsel for conduct which appeared to be the result of the heat of controversy or of that zeal in the defense of a client or in one's own defense which might understandably have caused one to overstep the bounds of strict propriety. Before the trial had progressed very far, however, I was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the acts and statements to which I am about to refer were the result of an agreement between these defendants, deliberately entered into, in a cold and calculating manner, to do and say these things for the purpose of: (1) causing such delay and confusion as to make it impossible to go on with the trial; (2) provoking incidents which they intended would result in a mistrial; and (3) impairing my health so that the trial could not continue.

The judge, it appears, was charging a conspiracy without which the misbehavior of the lawyers would have been "overlooked" or at most brought merely a reprimand. This "agreement" or conspiracy was not certified to have been made in the judge's presence—certainly an unlikely thing—nor did the judge state that he saw or heard it. If the rule means what it says and if Judge Medina meant what he said, this was not an offense which could be punished summarily without notice or hearing. Indeed, since the judge stated that he found one of the purposes of the lawyers' alleged misbehavior was to impair his health, *he* could not punish them at all. He was disqualified.

That the rule does mean literally what it says seems pretty clear from the cases on which it is based. The principal example here is a case in which Chief Justice Taft wrote the opinion. "Punishment without issue or trial," he said, "was so contrary to the usual and ordinary indispensable hearing before judgment, constituting due process, that the assumption that the court saw everything that went on in open court was required to justify the exception." Justice Black, in a later decision, made the point with even greater emphasis:

> The narrow exception to these due-process requirements [notice and hearing] includes only charges of misconduct, in open court, in the presence of the judge, which disturbs the court's business where all of the essential elements of the misconduct are under the eye

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> of the court, are actually observed by the court. . . . If some essential elements of the offense are not personally observed by the judge, . . . due process requires . . . that the accused be accorded notice and a fair hearing.

All this is vital. Summary punishment is to be based only on evidence within the personal knowledge of the judge, so that no hearing or trial is necessary. But if, as Judge Medina himself states, the contempt inhered only in the alleged prior conspiracy, presumably if not necessarily out of court, then the accused must have an opportunity to present evidence that there was no conspiracy.

A conspiracy requires a prior agreement for an unlawful purpose. In this case, the evil purpose relied upon by Judge Medina was repeatedly set forth. At one point in the trial he stated:

> There has been a wilful, deliberate, and concerted effort here to delay the proceedings. . . . I might just as well let you know that this dragging-on, slowing-down process that I have observed and have now found to be a deliberate and concerted effort is one of the reasons for my rulings and will be from now on.

And at a later point:

> The finding made the other day was based not only upon occurrences that appear in the minutes but what I have observed in the conduct of counsel before me here, sneering, snickering, obvious indications from one to another to get up, "it is your turn now, go at it next," keep the thing going, and so on.

Still later, the judge said:

> The effect of it all is confirming my view that there has been this deliberate effort here to make a mockery of justice and to, in effect and in the aggregate, sabotage the administration of justice, and I just won't have it.

IF MEDINA was right, of course he shouldn't "have it." The question is: was he right? Under the legal principles which up to now have governed in such cases, hearing, notice, and trial are required to determine whether he was right. Obviously the intention of the lawyers was not "seen" or "heard" by Judge Medina, as the law required. At a hearing they might offer credible evidence that there was no "deliberate effort . . . to make a mockery of justice" or to "sabotage the administration of justice." Until this case lawyers in political trials have been accorded such an opportunity.

Summary punishment, in our traditional legal *mores*, is a last resort. Government by law necessarily excludes arbitrary decision by anybody. Accordingly, punishment for contempt on the decision of one man is a practice which demands justification. Among other factors, the immediate necessity of the punishment has been emphasized in our law. The general rule is notice, opportunity to be heard, a fair trial by a disinterested judge. If a lawyer, or for that matter anyone else, so obstructs the orderly administration of justice that a trial cannot go on, the judge is given the most arbitrary of all powers of government—the power to say, "You go to jail *now,* for contempt of court." But necessity there must be; the power to punish summarily is not given as a safety valve for the escape of pent-up judicial emotions.

That summary punishment for contempt is an emergency measure is emphasized by the rule that the power must be exercised immediately if it is to be exercised at all. Indeed, it exists only when the judge determines that he cannot go on with the trial unless the disturbance is stopped and the likelihood of its repetition eliminated. Thus if the judge can regain control over his court by warnings or other less drastic means, contemptuous conduct must be punished in the usual course, as outlined in the federal rule. In the Foley Square case Judge Medina decided that immediate punishment was not necessary, and the decision, as Judge Clark put it, was made "with perspicacity." He did retain control over his courtroom and waited, in some instances for months, before he meted out punishment. This the law does not permit him to do.

Judge Medina

Judge Medina's contempt decision met with almost unanimous applause from press, pulpit, and the bar. On the first occasion that offered he was richly rewarded by promotion to the distinguished Court of Appeals which had upheld his action. Honors and acclaim were showered on him from almost every conceivable source.

But while this was going on, other things began to happen. The judge's performance in dealing with these lawyers as he did seemed to touch off a chain reaction both in and outside legal circles. Disbarment proceedings were instituted against several of the convicted lawyers. Loyalty oaths for lawyers were proposed in several state legislatures and by a number of local bar associations. The House of Delegates of the American Bar Association even urged the disbarment of all lawyers found to believe in "Marxist-Leninism," whatever a court should decide that to be. The commander of the American Legion advocated that local legion posts purify the bar in their communities, and the Attorney General of the United States—now Justice Clark—suggested that state bar associations would do well to take lawyers who defended Communists to "the legal woodshed." To top it off, the House Un-American Activities Committee let out a terrific blast at the National Lawyers'

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Guild as "the legal bulwark of the Communist Party," because a few members acted as counsel in such cases.

All this, of course, could have but one result. Lawyers became reluctant, and in some hundreds of instances refused, to accept as clients persons professing unpopular political beliefs. In the case of seventeen "second string" Communists, Judge Ryan was forced to request all New York bar associations to name a panel of lawyers who would act as counsel, since every one of the attorneys whom he had appointed had asked to be relieved. Indeed, the situation became so serious that the President thought it necessary to remind the American Bar Association at its recent New York meeting of the right of every man to legal counsel when accused of crime, regardless of his political beliefs or the unpopularity of his cause. The President had apparently forgotten that he had himself contributed to the prevailing hysteria by promulgating loyalty orders so vague as to constitute a trap for the innocent as well as the guilty, and by promoting a judge whose hasty and exasperated contempt decision frightened the pants off defense counsel in other Communist cases.

The right to counsel is vital to free institutions. In criminal cases it has constitutional guaranties. A citizen whose life or liberty is in jeopardy must be told of his right to counsel, and if he is too poor to pay for legal service, the state will pay. And he is entitled to *adequate* counsel, for inadequate counsel is none at all.

But this right does not flourish in an atmosphere which encourages the imputation to counsel of the client's hated political or social views, whether a Harry Sacher is defending a client of the extreme left or a Rudolph Halley one of the far right. For when men are so hated that they are limited in their choice of a lawyer to those willing to risk their livelihood to defend them, their rights are seriously impaired. A reversal of Judge Medina's contempt ruling by the Supreme Court, after full review, would dampen the zeal of those who want to outlaw lawyers for doing their duty and go a long way toward restoring a basic democratic right at a time when too many such rights are being whittled away.

The Supreme Court of the United States is an experiment in government. Whether the Fathers planned it that way or not, the last hope of the individual lies with the court. Of late years that court has blown hot and cold. Sometimes it has upheld the claimed right; more often it has denied it or, through the technical device of denying a writ of certiorari, ducked the question altogether. In the Medina contempt case it originally took the easy way out: it refused to review. Now it has decided to face the issue. It is possible that the nine American citizens who by good or bad fortune shoulder the terrible responsibility for the last word have reached the crossroads. In one direction, if we go far enough, lies fascism; in the other, if we go far enough, is the freedom of our heritage.

Will He Boss Texas?

BY HART STILWELL

Austin, Texas

IN ITS 105 years of history as a state Texas has never been bossed by one man. Many have tried it. Thirty-four years ago James E. Ferguson, then governor, made the attempt, but the legislature threw him out on his ear. More recently W. Lee O'Daniel tried to run Texas as a one-man show, but the legislature slapped him down. In sharp contrast to conditions in states which have been bossed by a Crump or a Long or a Hague, the Texas legislature has merited its title of watch-dog of the people's liberties.

But something is happening to that legislature. As things stand now, Herman Brown, multi-millionaire contractor, banker, utilities and oil man, seems able to secure the passage in the Texas Senate of practically any bill he chooses to have introduced, and to be able to block the passage in the Senate and House of any legislation he does not like. For example, the legislature recently rushed through a bill, largely at his insistence, making it illegal for an employer or employee to enter into a contract requiring membership or non-membership in any organization as a condition of work.

Even more alarming are developments on the judiciary front. In October last year Brown filed a petition in the 98th District Court in Austin seeking a sweeping injunction to prevent ninety-two labor organizations from engaging in any activity against his various companies. For 180 days the unions were restrained by a series of ten-day restraining orders, and at the end of that time a temporary injunction was issued. Among other things it enjoined the unions from picketing any Herman Brown job and from entering into any agreement not to handle an article or commodity because it was destined for Brown. Brown admitted on the witness stand that he

HART STILWELL formerly edited the Brownsville Herald. *He now lives in Austin, Texas, and is the author of two novels, "Border City," which dealt with the "wetbacks" in Texas, and "Campus Town," which concerns academic freedom.*

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did not know just what unions were on the list. But all were enjoined. It is obvious that if injunctions as sweeping as this continue to be issued, labor unions in Texas may be strangled to death.

Though Herman Brown has amassed the bulk of his tremendous wealth on government-financed or government-sponsored jobs, he has proceeded from the start as though organized labor did not exist. The injunction against the ninety-two unions was merely the latest development in a relentless battle against organized labor that began to take on significant proportions in 1937, when Brown and Root, the parent contracting company of Herman Brown's far-flung enterprises, obtained the contract to build the Mansfield Dam, a government project near Austin. This brings out what would appear to be an astonishing inconsistency on the part of the federal government. On the one hand it sets up minimum wage scales and adopts various measures to protect labor's rights. On the other it awards huge contracts year after year to a big contractor who is certainly not in sympathy with these goals. Only recently Brown was awarded, on a cost-plus basis, a contract to overhaul army tanks which will probably total $10,000,000. Brown is one of three contractors building the great naval base at Guam. He is doing extensive work in Alaska. In fact, he seems to be able to get one government contract after the other. Doubtless his bids are low, but are they low because his labor costs are low? Unwittingly or otherwise the government seems to be undercutting its own labor policy.

Since the earliest days of his work for the government Brown has received kindly treatment at the hands of federal agencies—some people laughingly refer to him as a "socialized millionaire" because he has made most of his millions as a government contractor. And he has close friends in public office, including two such able and influential legislators as Senator Lyndon Johnson and Representative Albert Thomas of Houston.

UNLIKE most of the other very rich men in Texas, Brown is deeply involved in politics and has a positive program. Most rich Texans spend a lot of time letting off steam against something, usually taxes, but seldom work for a definite political goal and hesitate to spend much money to achieve the goals they seek. But Brown is much more than a man with a lot of money. As he accumulates money, he builds power—deliberately. How he will use that power is of vital interest to everyone in Texas, and to people elsewhere in the nation.

The amount Brown has spent in elections in Texas remains a matter of conjecture; no legal provision requires a public accounting. But it costs a lot of money to conduct a vigorous campaign for the office of United States Senator in a huge state like Texas. Lyndon Johnson, for example, waged an extremely expensive campaign in 1948. But public interest centers not so much in what campaigns Brown has financed or what sums he has spent as in the continuing flow of big government contracts to a non-union contractor who has often been at war with organized labor and the National Labor Relations Board.

Brown's activities in the field of lawmaking in Texas are much more obvious and must be nearly as expensive, for he has two and sometimes three lobbyists on the scene during sessions of the legislature. No other single individual in Texas maintains lobbies at Austin. Even the richest Texans dole out their lobbying funds through organizations which maintain lobbies, such as the Texas Manufacturers' Association, the Texas Good Roads Association, the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, the Texas Medical Association, and so on. But Brown operates individually and on a large scale.

The Texas legislature represents a pretty fair cross-section of the state and the nation. It is no more venal than most other state governments—better than some. But a legislature does not have to be directly controlled in order to pass or block laws in accordance with the wishes of outside interests. At least two-thirds of the members of the Texas Senate gaze upon the economic and political scene through the same glasses that color Brown's views. For years Brown was content with maintaining enough influence in the Senate to block legislation that displeased him. But in 1947 the temper of the public was right for positive action, and his lobbyists stepped into the picture to help push through nine restrictive labor bills. Labor, in the opinion of many people, had waxed rich and sassy during the war. It needed "discipline." Brown, having done nothing more than pick up a few million dollars on war contracts, needed only sympathy and help.

In recent years Brown's holdings have become more extensive and varied, his connections more significant, his interests broader, and his power greater. Politically he is already the most powerful man in Texas and close to bossing the entire state. With his large oil and gas holdings, he is certain to become interested in the question of whether Texas will increase taxes on natural resources or saddle a sales tax on the people. Brown and his associates own the Big Inch and Little Big Inch pipe lines, two tremendously profitable ventures. He is chairman of a bank in Austin, owns valuable hotel properties. He is one of the biggest highway contractors in a state that spends more than $100,000,000 a year on its roads. Recently unions went into court to force the highway department to make a thorough study of conditions, taking into consideration union wage scales, before setting a minimum wage for an area. The unions lost in the state Supreme Court. And the matter is not likely to be remedied in the state legislature.

The by-products of Brown's far-flung activities are

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sometimes disturbing in unexpected ways. Stuart Long, a newspaperman, has been for years one of the most popular radio commentators in Austin. He is also a liberal. And he is state Democratic committeeman from his district. Recently KVET, the station for which he has broadcast news for years, suddenly fired him. The manager said that a battle between giants—Brown and labor—was shaping up, and he didn't want to get caught in the middle. The principal owner of KVET is the law partner of Brown's chief counsel and the former secretary and assistant of Senator Lyndon Johnson. Senator Johnson owns Radio Station KTBC, in Austin, which is located in the Brown Building, owned by Herman Brown.

It is rather generally believed, also, that the recent action of the Texas legislature in slashing the salary of Chancellor James P. Hart of the University of Texas may have been another by-product of Brown's anti-union drive. As a practicing attorney Hart had handled some routine labor cases, and later, as a member of the Supreme Court of Texas, he had voted with the majority in holding one of the Brown-sponsored 1947 anti-labor bills unconstitutional.

As things stand now, Brown is riding high. He has ninety-two labor unions hog-tied in court, and he expects to keep them there for a long time. The court fight may bankrupt the unions, but it won't hurt Herman. He can charge it off as a legitimate deductible business expense, and even if he had to pay the whole cost, it would not make much of a dent in the three million dollars his various companies made in 1950. There is even the ironical possibility that at least part of the court costs might be charged up against one of Brown's cost-plus jobs for Uncle Sam. In that event, the government would be helping to finance Brown's fight against union labor. Just where Brown will go from now on is uncertain. But it is reasonable to assume that he will continue his feud with organized labor, add more millions to his fortune, and become still more powerful in the political life of Texas.

It is not easy to understand why this man is so bitter against organized labor. When Paul Sparks, executive secretary of the Texas State Federation of Labor, asked him, he declined to discuss the matter. His attitude probably stems from an unwillingness to concede labor's equality of rights. His idea of labor-management relations seems to be: "I am the boss." Labor's answer has been a determined war against Brown—picketing of his jobs, refusal to handle goods destined for his jobs. But this war has been stopped, for the time being at least, by the courts.

As Brown moves on to wider fields, it is interesting to speculate on what his attitude will be toward those outside the ranks of labor—toward lawmakers, judges, even governors—and toward the people of the state. Will the day come when he will be reluctant to grant equality to them too? This is the question that is beginning to bother many Texans.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Big Business and the Schools

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

JIM SMITH returned from his first teachers' convention cheering for classroom motion pictures. Just think—no more lagging classes, never again hear the click of eyes and ears closing tight at the beginning of a lecture! Furthermore, the representative of a film distributing company had assured him, "these pictures are yours for the asking. They are educational films made available by business and industry for the classroom teacher."

Three weeks later "Enterprise," a "documentary" story of the American economy, arrived for projection in the American Problems class. As the classroom windows were darkened, the students snapped to attention and focused their eyes on the screen. The picture had everything: home and mother, God and the American flag, the Statue of Liberty and action shots of World War II, the ole swimming hole and peach pie.

When the film ended, Jim Smith turned, somewhat apologetically, to the class and asked, "What did you think of it?" The reply was unanimous: "It was good!" One C minus, minus student exclaimed, "It was marvelous!" Others commented, "Was it not through hard work and enterprise that every big business was built?" and "The picture is dead right when it says that the federal government cannot give prosperity as a gift." Only in the closing minutes of the hour did a minority report show up: "The picture seems to say: 'You, too, can have a wealthy town, happy people, and healthy children. All you have to do is build a shirt

J. AUSTIN BURKHART is a teacher of political science at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri. This is the third article of a series of eight on the dangers confronting democratic education.

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factory.' The commentator emphasizes that the label on the shirts is not important; yet ——— signs are posted all over. Mr. Smith, do you wear ——— shirts? Does free enterprise mean that small towns should provide plant-expansion space for large industrial corporations?"

The investigations of the Buchanan committee on lobbying shattered the old-fashioned conception of the lobbyist as a cigar-chewing individual soliciting the votes of legislators with champagne and fan dancers. Its findings clearly recognized the ever-expanding character of pressure politics, the constant discovery and use of new techniques, the manufacture of public opinion at the grass roots, the impact of concentrated economic power on our national life, and the increasing financial and social cost of lobbying.

All these facets are visible in the educational lobby. Conventional methods are combined with the latest offerings of educational psychology to reach tomorrow's voters through today's classroom indoctrination. Reminiscent of the days of Insull, the National Association of Real Estate Boards has instigated the writing of textbooks on real estate which are currently being used in 127 colleges and universities. This organization has also encouraged colleges to offer special courses in which the general point of view of the association is presented. Mervin K. Hart's National Economic Council sends out gift editions of its publications* to innumerable schools and colleges; the leaflets distributed by the Committee on Constitutional Government to school children have reached a circulation of five or six million.

BUT more potent instruments are also being used to tell the Big Truth, to give the business story greater visibility, and to sell the economic system to the American public: motion pictures, posters, plant tours, radio programs, film strips with records, television shows, and even comic strips. No technological device is dismissed, no method of communication overlooked. Unfortunately, the American economy is too often presented as the sponsor conceives it, from a narrow, defensive point of view, and the image, therefore, fails to square with the facts. More reprehensible is the advancement of many other interesting ideas under the cover of explaining the American system.

The National Association of Manufacturers, for example, has 5 photoplays and 1,858 prints which are free for the asking. More than two million students witnessed these films last year. "The Price of Freedom," a typical release, tells the story of a young newspaperman, Fred Vollmer, who goes to work on his father's paper. He visits Germany and learns that democracy slipped away in that country because of public indifference to the expanding powers of the state. When he returns to America he sees the same threats to our democratic institutions and resolves to write about these dangers in stirring editorials. At first his father, for some unexplained reason, refuses to print these articles but later is brought around to his son's position.

Ninety per cent of a cross-section of high-school and college students reacted to the picture along these lines: "The yearning for security in this country will bring about the same effects as did the coming of Nazism in Germany"; "the security we seek must come from within ourselves." About 5 per cent of those who saw the picture objected to minor aspects—for example, "There were too many sticky scenes between the father and son." Only one student made the thoughtful comment: "Instead of casting a favorable eye on future change, the film looked backward for what was good. The chant of the good old days was carried through with such phrases as, 'start at the bottom and earn my pay,' 'individual effort,' 'the government can't solve your problems,' 'government promises take a little freedom at a time and then take over thinking.' One gets the impression that any change takes us away from the good old days of grandfather and closer to a Hitlerian regime. The picture subtly knocks welfare measures."

"In Balance," sponsored by Burroughs Adding Machine, pictures what happened to a Gloucester fisherman who divided his profits with his crew and then applies this lesson to modern business. The impression left with the student is that profit-sharing does not work. Dozens of such message films are now being circulated in schools, painlessly proselyting a captive audience. Unlicensed teachers, they do not need to pass state boards or meet any certification requirements.

Many company films underline the high ideals of business and the resourcefulness of management. The Aluminum Company of America presents its record in "Unfinished Rainbows," a technicolor production starring Alan Ladd as the scientist who discovered the process of making aluminum. Judging from student reaction, had pictures like this been shown earlier, Theodore Roosevelt would have never made a reputation as a trust buster. After seeing "Unfinished Rainbows" students commented, "There is little danger of a monopoly, for the large companies seem to welcome smaller ones to manufacture the same products." Or, "In Alcoa there wasn't any political backing, no dirty dealing; everything was up to the highest American ideals."

The sixteen-millimeter picture is by far the fastest growing in the motion-picture field. Numerous corporations have from $300,000 to $3,000,000 invested in production and prints and spend as much as $100,000 a year on promotion and distribution. The competition which these films are giving the theatrical circuit for the Great Audience is striking. Several companies can claim yearly school audiences of over ten million; one corporation reports that a hundred and fifty million individuals

* See Fever Spots in American Education, by Morris Mitchell, in *The Nation* of October 27.

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have witnessed its offerings since the inauguration of the audio-visual program. Needless to say, most of the films are released for public-relations purposes and have no legislative ax to grind.

THE field trip is as old as Pestalozzi, but only recently, in the wake of audio-visual emphasis, has it received enthusiastic support as a teaching device. Recognizing its cogency, business has gone all out in recommending sponsored plant tours as "vital" learning experiences for both teachers and students. In addressing a group of Chicago public-school teachers and principals taking a plant tour, Robert E. Wilson, chairman of the board of Standard Oil of Indiana, called for thousands upon thousands of meetings in which representatives of industry could tell educators about what is going on in business. Apparently disturbed by a survey in a test high school in Connecticut which showed 61 per cent of the senior students favoring closer government regulation of business, Mr. Wilson spoke of current misconceptions regarding the oil industry. Systematically he tried to prove that the oil industry is not monopolistic and that it does not earn inordinately high profits. What the oil industry needs, he said, is freedom from excessive taxation and from attempts to break up established methods of doing business.

Almost as if the wish were father to the act, hundreds of plant tours are springing up everywhere in the form of Business-Industry-Education Days. Under the guidance of local chambers of commerce, B-I-E Days were held in some three hundred cities last year and more than a hundred thousand school teachers participated. On these occasions school is dismissed for the day, and the teachers are taken in small groups through industrial plants and business firms. In the South a separate day is set apart for explaining the American opportunity program to Negro teachers. Similar days are planned for college faculties and the clergy.

Obviously, the danger does not lie in business-education communication per se but in the manner in which mass media can be perverted. Since extra-class activity of this type is not controlled by school officials, it should be given careful scrutiny. While Business-Education Days may not pervert the educational process, they are likely to be exploited by individual sponsors. A number of labor men have discovered that the labor-relations discussions may be loaded in favor of management and against the unions. Brendan Sexton, educational director of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), argues that if the B-I-E Days are approved, the programming ought to be handled pretty rigidly by the schools.

There can be no doubt that something more than a desire to enrich the curriculum is behind much of the sponsored instruction through mass media. The results of three surveys of student opinion conducted in widely separated states are invariably mentioned in selling the idea of a Business-Education Day or in alerting a local Chamber of Commerce to the need for a business-sponsored movie program in the schools. According to these opinion polls, students have a decided preference for a secure rather than a risk-taking job, feel that jobs for all is a government responsibility, and approve of the government competing with private industry in housing, in providing medical services for all, and in regional developments like the TVA. They lack knowledge of the average investment per worker, the annual return to stockholders, and the average profit of American industry. Certainly deficiencies in factual knowledge should be supplied. But the line between educating and influencing political thinking is a fine one, as the attempt to regulate lobbying has brought out. A publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "Plant Tours," states, "Students are reached at a crucial age, shortly before they attain voting status." Parenthetically, it might be noted that twenty-four state banking associations have definite school-contact programs.

THE old idea that one interested group balances another and in the end all conflicting pressures are canceled out is made ridiculous by the use of instruments of mass communication. Many of them are shockingly expensive. A well-made, two-reel, black-and-white motion picture may cost $20,000; its equivalent in color $75,000 to $125,000. A few years ago it was estimated that the money spent on business-sponsored teaching aids exceeded the educational budgets of Delaware, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wyoming.

The social costs of such indirect lobbying in terms of general confusion and public conflict cannot be measured. A lobbypop solution of our problems by pat formulas contributes little to enlightenment and much to an atmosphere of hysterical oversimplification. This in turn prevents an honest analysis of pressing issues. The manufacturers and distributors of opinion have discovered that emotional clichés can effectively discourage the enactment of needed social legislation. Federal aid to education, public health, and hydroelectric dams are being parked at the siding for the "Stop Socialism" streamliner.

Business-Education Days, business-education fellowships, sponsored motion pictures, subsidized speakers who will stand without hitching, are only some of the methods used to tell the Big Truth in the schools. Should the effort be intensified, we shall need a Supreme Court decision to separate business and the state in public education. A principle is at stake. We must uphold the objectivity of the sources from which we draw teaching material just as staunchly as we guard against bias on the part of the professor.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Parable Without a Moral

THE CONFORMIST. By Alberto Moravia. Farrar, Straus, and Young. $3.50.

"THE CONFORMIST," beautifully translated by Angus Davidson, is, like "Two Adolescents" and "Conjugal Love" which preceded it, the meticulously told history of an obsession. But with a difference. The sufferings of Agostino and Luca and the self-imposed torment of the buffoon in "Conjugal Love" occur in almost complete moral and physical isolation. Marcello Clerici's obsession, though he remains always isolated from most human concerns, propels him into public life and involves him in political situations. The fine and sharp lines of the small sketches have been replaced by the larger canvas of Italy from 1920 to the fall of Mussolini and by complications of light and shade.

Marcello's is a double trauma. At thirteen he recognizes in himself sadistic impulses which, he feels, set him apart from the rest of humanity. And he is alone with his conviction that he has killed an unfrocked priest who attempted to seduce him. The book is a study in what Moravia calls "the terrifying isolation of abnormality" and in the guilt produced by it, because "to be different meant to be guilty." In his frenetic desire to set the rest of his life in order Marcello achieves a precarious conformity. One never questions the veracity of this picture of a sensitive and intelligent adolescent who develops into a minor Fascist official and a government spy. He becomes ever less human as he succeeds in identifying himself with a regime which attracts him because in its inhuman order he finds an ideal human normality.

Every step in this unflagging pursuit of the normal is marked by an absurdity reminiscent of the ridiculous misfortunes which the heroes of Italo Svevo contrive for themselves. The conventional lower-middle-class virgin he marries—because she is conventional, a virgin, and lower-middle-class—turns out to have been, to the day of her wedding, the mistress of an evil old man; the one woman he thinks he might have loved makes advances to his wife; the political murder which he helps bring about is countermanded, too late, as a positive disservice to the regime; and so on, until, on the day the Fascist government falls, he discovers that he had, after all, not killed the priest. He watches his normality crumble, like the bronze-coated plaster bust of Mussolini he sees being dragged through the Corso by the Roman mob. Immediately after his marriage he had learned that "he was revolving in a topsy-turvy, sterile world in which real love did not occur, but merely sensual relationships," and that his "benumbed, gray normality" had been established at the expense of personal joy and spontaneity. Now he sees that normality is "a purely external thing entirely made up of abnormalities." When the man he has not killed points out to him the obvious truth that we must all lose our innocence, he ponders what is, for Moravia, the central thesis of the novel:

> . . . even if, in fact, nothing had happened, he would still have done what he had done simply because, in any case, he would have had to lose his innocence, and consequently, would have desired to regain it. Normality was precisely this desire—as wearisome as it was vain—to justify a life trapped in its own original guilt.

This is the wisdom which, like some Fascist Parsifal, he slowly masters only to have it rendered innocuous by a death as absurd in the moment of its occurrence as the absurdities of his life.

The 376 pages it takes to arrive at these conclusions are dull only if one finds the question of Marcello's moral sensibility dull. His is not the classic gambit of the insulted and injured finding security in identification with an authoritarian regime: "He had done what he had done for reasons entirely his own, regardless of any communion with other people." This fiction broods heavily on events, translating them often into symbols. It is crowded with visions and revisions which spring out of Moravia's sense of the inescapable connection of every human action with every other human action. What faults the book has lie in its structure. It is a parable decked out with a multifoliate plot, necessary to Moravia's meaning but occasionally cumbersome as fiction. Too much is made to happen explicitly; the pattern of absurdity is too insistently called to our attention. The concentration of feeling which made the earlier and shorter books so exciting is present here only in the opening chapters. It is passionately serious and it seriously lacks humor, irony being supplied in excess as a substitute. Finally, since it is a parable, one expects a moral, which Moravia's wisdom does not allow him to formulate but which the form demands. "The Conformist," in this sense, is a curious hybrid, a didactic novel which teaches no lesson.

ERNEST JONES

A Mission and a Missionary

MY MISSION IN ISRAEL. By James G. McDonald. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

THE REVOLT. By Menachem Begin. Henry Schuman. $4.

WHEN James McDonald concluded his term as the first ambassador to Israel, a cynic remarked that a diplomat less openly friendly to Zionism might prove more advantageous to Israel. There could be no better refutation of this *Realpolitik* than Mr. McDonald's unpretentious and amiable account of his mission. The American ambassador's sympathetic understanding of the young state's problems proved to be a significant political asset.

Mr. McDonald's narrative is intimate, homely, and full of unmalicious anecdotes. But the book is more serious than appears on its engaging surface. Beneath the gentle drift of Mr. McDonald's confidences, which range over such territory as his young daughter's gifts as a housekeeper and amusing involvements with the touchy Russians over questions of protocol, one is conscious of unremitting moral energy. McDonald may appear alarmingly undiplomatic in his candor and simplicity, but he had a deeper grasp of essentials

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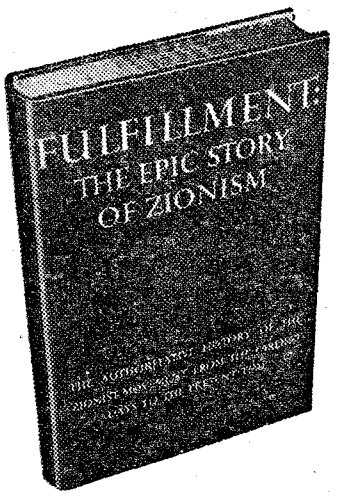

FULFILLMENT

The Epic Story of Zionism

by RUFUS LEARSI

author of
Israel: A History of the Jewish People

November 30, 1947: thousands of displaced Jews marched in jubilant procession under Rome's famous Arch of Titus, erected in 70 A.D. to celebrate the very downfall of the Kingdom of Judea. Now the UN had finally voted to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine—and an ancient people had survived to a vindication of faith and hope such as mankind had never seen. This is the full history of the return of the Jewish people to their homeland—of all the men and women of giant mold and vision who only fifty years ago launched and nurtured the daring and quixotic Zionist movement. Rufus Learsi's complete history of Zionism will thrill you—as all people are thrilled by bitter-earned victory, when the dangerous years melt away and become "as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night."

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than many a career diplomat. Those who were in Israel from 1948 to 1951 recall with what earnestness he tried to get to know the people among whom he served. His service as High Commissioner for German Refugees and as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine had given him experience and background. Nevertheless, he was unique among foreign representatives in Israel in his personal attempt to acquaint himself with the complex problems of the country. His tall, benign figure was familiar and beloved in Israel. The result of this intimate concern was more than human-interest stories. It enabled McDonald to advise his government intelligently at such crucial moments as the assassination of Bernadotte and during the negotiations concerning the Negev. While McDonald indulges in no dramatic revelations, it is clear from his account that hostile factions in the State Department deliberately ignored his advice. It is equally clear, however, that President Truman and his advisers gave adequate weight to his reports. In the tug of war between the President and the pro-Arab elements in the State Department, McDonald's on-the-spot interpretation frequently played a decisive role.

Mr. McDonald has some enlightening things to say about his fellow-diplomats. The contacts with the Russians appear to have been routinely irritating. This reviewer remembers the original hopefulness with which Israelis viewed the American and Russian flags flying from the Gat Rimon Hotel during the brief period when both ministers were lodged under the same roof. Unfortunately, the Russians, according to McDonald's account, proved to be resolutely unconvivial.

A private conversation with the British Minister indicated the shift in British opinion in regard to Israel. Sir Knox Helm told McDonald that he considered the resumption of Israel-Arab hostilities "as playing directly into the hands of the Soviet Union." McDonald quotes the British Minister as saying: "The moral of all this is that United States and United Kingdom interests demand a strong Israel at peace with its Arab neighbors. I have been urging this policy as strongly as I can upon the Foreign Office at home."

The views of an experienced observer like McDonald on future Arab-Israel relations is worth noting. He does not anticipate the "second round" which the Arabs have been threatening. At the same time he has small hope for greater friendliness because of the intense nationalisms of the Middle East at the present time. He does, however, believe in a measure of economic rapprochement, because, "despite handicaps, Israel is certain to remain industrially and technically the most advanced country in the Middle East." Divested of its usual Machiavellian costume, diplomacy wears an unexpectedly guileless and informal aspect in Mr. McDonald's story, but the pull of international forces and his own unequivocal role in the struggle are none the less unmistakable.

A different kind of mission is described in "The Revolt," the story of the Irgun as told by Menachem Begin, "commander-in-chief" of the terrorist organization. It is impossible to review this book seriously as a history of Israel's struggle for independence. The omissions and distortions of fact are so numerous that an attempt to correct them would involve a page-by-page commentary. On the basis of "The Revolt" an uninformed reader would get the following picture: The underground Irgun drove out the British, brought in the illegal ships, defeated the Arabs, and established the Jewish state. These achievements took place despite the weakness and stupidity of the official leadership, which included such poltroons as Ben-Gurion, Golda Myerson, and Moshe Sharret. Occasionally a secondary organization known as the Haganah appeared on the scene to do a little mopping up after the brunt of battle had been borne by the brave lads of the Irgun.

A few years ago, when Irgun bombs and bombast had a tragic fascination for some American Jews, it would have been necessary to dignify this romance with refutation. By now only stubborn disciples put credence in the Irgun mythology, and it would be pointless to expose for the hundredth time either the central thesis or the individual fable, such as the Irgun version of the Altalena episode. Nevertheless, though the book casts little light on actual events in Palestine, it offers a good deal on the mentality of the author and his asso-

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ciates. In this sense, "The Revolt" is a fascinating psychological study.

Begin intrigued many of the correspondents and diplomats who came to Israel. They wanted to know what made him tick. Most of them, James McDonald included, commented on his mild, schoolmaster exterior. Those who heard his shrill, hysterical voice over the radio recognized the demagogue without being able to understand the secret of his personal influence. "The Revolt" provides a partial answer. The reader feels the power of Begin's absolute faith in himself and his cause, as well as his ability to impart this faith. One recognizes the paradoxical combination of fanaticism and opportunism which has become so familiar to us, and which can create martyrs as well as stooges, heroes as well as charlatans. The mixture of sincere passion and unabashed impudence which Begin dishes out can readily be stupefying, perhaps not only to the simple and ignorant.

Begin's clamant self-righteousness is equal to all occasions. He even goes so far as to defend the Irgun massacre of the peaceable Arab villagers of Dir Yassin, an act which filled all Jewish Palestine with horror. His technique is characteristic. In the first place, the killing of women and children was not "butchery" but an act of war. In the second place, the "false atrocity story" was responsible for the Arab mass stampede. Begin has it both ways: "Not what happened in Dir Yassin but what was invented about Dir Yassin" won the day. Of course, the plain facts are that the Arab flight started long before Dir Yassin on the instructions of the Arab High Committee in preparation for the coming Arab invasion. Begin naturally fails to mention that a few days after the massacre an Arab mob ambushed a Hadassah convoy to Mount Scopus and proceeded to slaughter the passengers, including some of Palestine's foremost scientists and physicians, to the cry of "Vengeance for Dir Yassin." The immediate "practical" result of Dir Yassin was not the Arab evacuation but the Hadassah tragedy. Begin's version is a good illustration of Irgun ethics, political sagacity, and fidelity to facts.

The role of terrorism in obtaining the Jewish state was not only negligible but negative. Irgun outrages served to give

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British repressive measures a semblance of legality. British and world opinion yielded to the relentless pressure of the illegal immigration from the D. P. camps and to Jewish Palestine's furious battle to keep the gates open. Both aspects of the struggle were led by Ben-Gurion and executed by the Haganah; both aspects were frequently jeopardized by the irresponsible antics of the Irgun. Later, during the Arab invasion, the fiery Irgun members, contrary to Begin's extravagant claims, failed to prove their mettle. Accustomed to the tactics of individual terrorism, they often proved inadequate to the discipline of open battle. Such is the testimony of the leading commanders in the field.

Today the Irgun, transformed into the political party of Herut, plays no more constructive part than in the past. Its "militancy" consists of noisily clamoring for a Jewish state "on both sides of the Jordan," and in an alliance with the most reactionary elements in Israel. The pattern defined in Begin's interesting autobiography continues.

MARIE SYRKIN

Fearful New World

WHAT'S THE WORLD COMING TO? SCIENCE LOOKS AT THE FUTURE. By A. M. Low. J. B. Lippincott. $3.

ACCORDING to the jacket, the author of this extraordinary book is an important inventor of gadgets, some of them for the British government. He must have heard of Aldous Huxley, for he mentions "Brave New World," but he was obviously not impressed since he proceeds to scare the reader out of his wits by seriously promising him blessings worse than those Huxley was able to imagine; and by the time he has finished one is almost prepared to hope that we shall not, as he believes, escape destruction by the atom bomb after all. Those who are afraid that the world of super-weapons, super-machines, and super everything else might prove a bit hard on the nerves are assured that drastic methods of mental hygiene will take care of all that, even though certain difficulties will be created by the fact that "everyone resents restraint on mental freedom even more than upon their physical ability to do as they please."

Those who also fear that there may be difficulty in feeding the stupendous populations which he predicts are similarly assured not only that chemical foods made in factories will become increasingly important but also that—though this is much farther off—the "happy time" may come "when food can be taken in tabloids or electronically while we sleep." We shall soon give up the foolish attempt to preserve even in parks what is now called breathing space. "In a small country where space is so important we shall soon begin to build in our parks with the advantage that there will be less beauty for people to destroy. Vast congregations of flats will certainly spring up. They will be fitted with television, hot water, pneumatic post tubes, and perhaps even milk [chemical milk I suppose] laid on from a central depot; everything will be done to prevent the need for visiting one's neighbors in person." It is true that on the very next page something is said about week-end trips to Africa. It is also true that something had previously been said about the fact that "material prosperity is in itself quite purposeless." But by this time the reader is too depressed to care whether these apparent contradictions are reconcilable or not.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Versatile James

THE PORTABLE HENRY JAMES. Edited, and with an Introduction by Morton Dauwen Zabel. The Viking Press. $2.50.

NO EXPERIENCED reader of James," remarks Mr. Zabel, and we detect a somewhat rueful note in his words, "need be told the acute problem an editor encounters when he attempts to represent in a limited space an author of such bulk and diversity." It has been Mr. Zabel's triumph that he has compiled a volume for the peripatetic reader whose crammed pages suggest the bulk and proclaim the diversity. We have become so accustomed to a Jamesian stereotype—that of the top-hatted Master lost in endless sentences—that it is a very real

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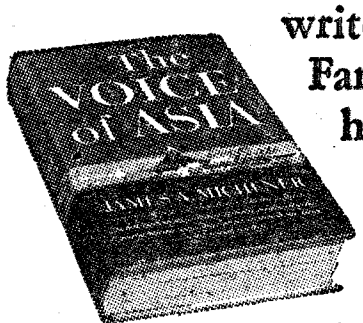

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pleasure to find him in these pages not only telling his tales and writing his *nouvelles* but indulging in those informal relaxed reveries that mark his travel writings and much of his criticism; a kind of grave spontaneity pervades them, a good-natured social ease touched with grace and liveliness and humor. It is always a relief to be reminded that between the starched and stuffy James of the legend and the creative artist there exists a marked disparity.

Many other portables and anthologies could be derived from the works of Henry James, each with its valid claim to be read. The claim of Mr. Zabel's is that he gives us not only the prose artist or the fictional virtuoso; he allows us to see the sage of Chelsea and Rye of the final years but restores the Henry James of the earlier time, the explorer of the pathways worn by passionate American pilgrims on the Continent, the prodigious letter-writer, the energetic expositor of the art of fiction, and the critic who practiced "perception at the pitch of passion." Mr. Zabel's "portable" James is also the versatile James; lifted from material that could fill at least sixty volumes, it represents an act of editorial courage, a challenge met and bravely conquered.

Henry James created in an era when fiction could be leisurely and was written to be read in the old-fashioned Victorian "three-deckers." His narrative is always unhurried and copious though disciplined. Consequently Mr. Zabel's selection was dictated often by length. To have chosen one or two of James's longer works would have quite filled up the space and deprived the editor—and the reader—of the opportunity to have James in all his variousness, his insatiable curiosity about life and about people, and his critical acumen. The editorial solution had to be a series of compromises and they are happy ones, since long or short, Henry James never sacrificed quality. The five tales chosen, ranging from the sentimental-pathetic of the early "Four Meetings" to the sophisticated-psychological of the late "Round of Visits," show James's virtuosity in handling large themes within small compass. The *nouvelles* include the now-celebrated and much-reprinted "Beast in the Jungle" and the remarkable story of a young boy, "The Pupil," drawn from James's own boyhood wanderings on the Continent with his restless parents; they demonstrate the novelist's capacity for writing what amounts to a novel within the frame of the long short story.

We can discover in these pages the young critic of twenty-two taking brilliant measure of Charles Dickens in the newly founded *Nation,* or evaluating the Walt Whitman of "Drum Taps" with the words, "It has been a melancholy task to read this book; and it is a still more melancholy one to write about it." Nevertheless, he does write about it with an exuberance that betrays no melancholy and a critical sharpness that may be unpleasing to the contemporary Whitmanians, but that has validity in the context of its own time. Inevitably Mr. Zabel has reprinted an essay on Balzac and a less well-known, but highly valuable, essay on Turgenev in which James discourses on Tolstoy ("a reflector as vast as a natural lake") and, while recognizing his great appeal, finds him wanting in James's cherished methods and disciplines of fiction. However much we may argue today with James the critic, we get from him invariably a direct and always intense communication of feeling and experience: the critical intelligence, sympathetic, curious, subtle, functions with an unswerving loyalty to principles and standards expressed by two words—"truth" and "life."

Above all, it is a pleasure to renew acquaintance in these pages with James's epistolary art, his breathless exploration of Europe when young, his detached views of the British aristocracy during his middle years, his play of wit, fancy, and irony, as in the long letter to Walter Berry thanking him for an elaborate gift—flattering to the recipient yet expressing all too clearly James's embarrassment. There is a remarkable letter to Grace Norton. "Remember," he writes, "that every life is a special problem which is not yours but another's, and content yourself with the terrible algebra of your own." A long row of James's novels deals with people who did not content themselves with their own "terrible algebra" and describes the havoc they wrought by meddling in others' lives.

Mr. Zabel's notes are succinct and

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informative, and his preface is an admirable summary of the scope and significance of a creative career too long underestimated and still not sufficiently appreciated. LEON EDEL

Good-Will Is Not Enough

THIS AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Gerald W. Johnson. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

GERALD JOHNSON is one of our most skilful popularizers of history. In a long series of volumes he has shown the ability to assimilate the research of scholars and to present it in a meaningful and stimulating manner. "This American People" will, however, do him no credit; nor is it likely to enlighten its readers. It is a poor performance, confused in conception and slipshod in execution.

We can grant it good intentions. Mr. Johnson here focused on the dilemmas of our current crisis. Convinced that the ideas of the Founding Fathers can contribute to an understanding of the present, he has attempted to draw from the heritage of their wisdom clues as to what we ought to do about civil liberties, free enterprise, international relations, and the other problems that plague today's democracy.

Unfortunately Mr. Johnson's effort has not been successful. The only general conclusion—that free government is hazardous and demands from the people the courage to take risks—is practically platitudinous.

In part, the failure arises from the assumption that these political problems can be resolved by common sense and simple principles. The book affects a cracker-barrel style and draws frequently on homely analogies that by-pass critical steps in the argument. At too many points, when the going gets rough, Mr. Johnson is content to cover up with vague hortatory sentiments and with the calm affirmation that it is all very clear.

Alas, the political issues of our own time, as of the eighteenth century, are not so simple as Mr. Johnson makes them out to be. The complex questions raised by setting limits to free speech or by the extension of government into the economy can only be answered with the aid of the most rigorous critical thinking. We shall hardly be satisfied that such thinking has gone into a book that treats the American polity as if it were created on a single day in 1776. The preposterous discussion of the Twenty-second Amendment, the disorderly analysis of minority rights, the undefined usage of such terms as "justice" and "democracy" will add to our skepticism.

This is altogether apart from the fact that the work shows evidence of hasty writing and is full of inexcusable errors of fact. To make John Adams a member of the Constitutional Convention, to impute to Patrick Henry anti-Unionist sentiments, to assert that an inaugural address has the force of law, or to confound the term "welfare" in "welfare state" with that in the constitutional phrase "general welfare" must be the result of downright carelessness.

Most distressing is the implication that rule-of-thumb common sense can run counter to reason and morality. I can hardly believe Mr. Johnson means what he says. But he does use "people with logical minds" as a kind of epithet (pp. 83, 178). In an interesting paragraph he states that Karl Marx supported his prediction of inevitable class war "with impeccable logic" (p. 79), a dubious statement in itself, but more dubious still when used as a decisive refutation of Marxism. And what shall we conclude from a generalization that a faction can subvert "public liberty" only when it embraces "a group professing high moral principles" (p. 129)?

We shall conclude, I suspect, that it takes more than good-will and common sense to deal with these problems.
OSCAR HANDLIN

Books in Brief

ZACHARY TAYLOR: SOLDIER IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By Holman Hamilton. Bobbs-Merrill. $6. This second volume of the Hamilton biography covers the last three years of Zachary Taylor's life: his nomination and election to the Presidency, his administration, his relations with Clay, Webster, Benton, and other political leaders, his struggles with Congress, and his death in 1850. An interesting study of an exciting period and an unexciting man.

THE MAGIC PEOPLE. By Arland Ussher. Devin-Adair. $2.75. A study of the mind, character, psychology, and philosophy of the Jewish race written by an Irishman with wit and understanding. ("Jewish mysticism makes man greater than the angels, as possessing freedom; Abraham shows toward Jehovah the firm if respectful attitude of a British Prime Minister toward the Throne.") One of those rare books that can truthfully be called thought-provoking.

VENTURE TO THE INTERIOR. By Laurens Van der Post. Morrow. $3. Colonel Van der Post was sent to Africa by the British government to explore and report on two virtually unknown sections of Nyasaland. He describes the country and his adventures vividly and with a novelist's sense of style and significant detail.

THE HERMIT PHILOSOPHER OF LIENDO. By I. K. Stephens. Southern Methodist University Press. $5. A biography of one of the oddest figures in the history of American culture. Edmund Montgomery was born in 1835, the illegitimate son of a Scottish lord, educated in Germany, and married to Elisabet Ney, a brilliant and somewhat

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erratic German sculptress. In 1871 this singular couple came to America and eventually settled in a tough and remote village of Texas popularly known as "Sixshooter Junction." There Montgomery lived in social and cultural isolation until his death in 1911, developing his "philosophy of vital organization" and urging the reexamination of current philosophical concepts in the light of the biological sciences. This study of his life and works is painstakingly detailed but fails to add up to a picture of the living man.

THE LOST YEARS. By Oscar Lewis. Knopf. $2.50. Lincoln, it appears, did not die as a result of the assassin's bullet, but recovered, served out his term, and then went to visit a friend in a little California village where he charmed everyone with his modesty and homely wisdom. One of those cute notions that the author (a Californian) should never have bothered to put on paper.

CHICAGO: CITY ON THE MAKE. By Nelson Algren. Doubleday. $1.50. Another book that should have remained a gleam in the author's eye; a kaleidoscopic and somewhat adolescent prose poem celebrating the "hustlers' town" by a Chicagoan in love with its uproar and toughness. Mr. Algren wrote "The Man with the Golden Arm."

THE PRICE. By Red Cilien. Published by the Reverend A. Wendell Ross, Los Angeles, California. $1. A collection of paintings depicting the cost of war, documented with facts and figures, which shows with terrifying realism what is in store for us if there is a third world war.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH "The Red Badge of Courage" is a thin study, overdirected and underwritten, about the havoc war plays in the souls of common citizens, it is also the most sharply focused view of soldiering yet presented by Hollywood, and, in the pure sense, one of the most uncompromisingly artistic films ever made in this country. (In my opinion, this is not especially to its credit.) Writer-director John Huston tells his story of the great death as it appears to an average American farm boy, suddenly plucked out of his peaceful Ohio adolescence and thrown into the terrible annealing-vat of battle against the Johnny Rebs. This soldier-hero (Audie Murphy), who is worried sick over the prospect of not being as brave as he wants to be, is tossed up and down like a cork during his first skirmish near the Rappahannock, the main part of which is actually fought and won far from the picture-postcard grazing-land where the boy evolves through much pain and humiliation into a ferocious, inspiring, foolhardy warrior. Murphy's infantryman is a more worrisome, innocent version of the deft, resilient handyman-hero of all the earlier Huston films. Like his forerunners (Spade, Dobbs, "Dix"), the young soldier is an emotionally snarled man of action, the bitter, confident pessimist, who was first revealed in "The Maltese Falcon" and has since virtually splashed the chaotic diary of his inner life all over the American screen. Murphy, the genuine article as men of action go—he won a carload of medals in the war—is hardly the type to project so much hot, florid perplexity and despair at what the world is doing to him. Neither is his cinematic comrade in arms, Bill Mauldin. Both of these baby-faced veterans are obviously suited to getting things done in life without fuss or feathers, and their agitated quiverings in "Red Badge" make you feel that here, more than in any previous Huston film, the actors have been harried and pushed into great, baroque, disproportionate demonstrations of feeling.

But if Huston torments his actors as one might torment a fly with a pin, he still knows the ways of self-conscious, thoughtful, hard-rock individualists better than anyone else in movies; and this shows through in his casting, which is invariably precise and subtle: discounting the emotional ejaculation they have to go through, Murphy and Mauldin are right out of Stephen Crane's cold furious brain; the boyishly shy, pristine, elegant Douglas Dick is even more accurate as an earnest, romantic, somewhat effeminate lieutenant; the quiet, huge-boned John Dierkes—a man you will be seeing more of—exactly portrays the tall farmer-soldier whose death is as awesome as that of a falling oak tree; while for bit players, Huston has somehow derricked from central casting a whole regiment of men who might well be the uncouth, unaware recruits from the Ohio villages of 1862. A past master at working a performer away from any pet manner of acting, Huston has done such things in this film as make Dick abandon the deadening, inflexible seriousness with which he always in the past tried to counteract his all too apparent effeminacy; here Dick is merely a tender, perplexed, surprised boy to whom things happen in unexpected violent ways. And then, surrounded by his men in the smoking battle area, he shows the toughening effect of combat in one split-second look of unbelieving astonishment, the same look seen on the faces of halfbacks or steelworkers who have come through what seemed like a hopeless, endless orgy of hard work.

In spite of virtues like this, "Red Badge" is one of the least warlike films ever made. The chief trouble seems to be that it was put together by a director and a photographer (Hal Rosson) less impelled and excited by

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Crane's story of war than by the untouched natural setting they found to shoot it in—a low, flowing, pastoral plot of ground that inspired them to make one of those stylish, Renoir-ish studies, all delicacy, poetry, beauty, trees, bark, sunlight, euphoria. The terrain, in fact, is the true hero of this production, which is proved in a number of Steinbeckian scenes, including the falling-oak business and a wonderful sequence in which a dying Confederate flag-bearer squirms up a little hillock like a broken-down ant. Every composition seems cast in the character of the land, which in real life forms part of Huston's ranch; the result is to make the soldiers, their drums, flags, muskets into little more than handsome adjuncts of nature. There is something wrong with any picture that must rely for climax on straight-up views of sun-drenched foliage; and in this particular case, the fancy camera work seems far out of line with the essential drama of small-time figures caught on the darkening plain of battle.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TO READ the text of "Rigoletto" is to discover that it makes no coherent, believable, or even understandable dramatic sense; and maybe the most carefully and intelligently contrived sets and staging cannot produce such sense in a performance; but little care and less intelligence were evident in what one saw in the New York City Opera performance. Instead there was the usual neglect of essentials like the make-ups and movements of the chorus for the usual bright ideas like showing the Duke bribing Giovanna to conceal him in Rigoletto's house, which increased the absurdity of later entrances and exits. Nor was there any dramatic illusion or compulsion for me in David Poleri's Duke. As for his singing, it was full of the affectations and airs of someone conscious of having made a sensational success that was not accounted for by what I heard. By affectations I mean the constant playing with tone, phrasing, tempo; by airs I mean the occasional ostentatious ignoring of the conductor, which resulted in Poleri's getting perilously out of gear with the orchestra. Lawrence Winters sang and acted well as Rigoletto (but should have whitened his hands and neck as well as his face); Graciela Riviera used her small voice exquisitely as Gilda; and Morel's conducting again gave me the impression that he doesn't do well with Verdi.

The point of interest in the "Meistersinger" performance I attended was Mack Harrell's Sachs, which turned out to be beautifully sung (though not always audible) but dramatically ineffective: like Pease's in its excessively youthful appearance, but without the rich and subtle detail and the force of presence and projection with which Pease overcomes that handicap. There was also a new Beckmesser, Rolf Heide—very experienced and skilful in the deplorable and embarrassing kind of humor that Wagner put into this beautiful work. And again, though one appreciated the excellence of the general lay-out of the performance on the stage, one was disturbed by the carelessness with detail of make-up and movement, of which Sachs's youthful beard and unlined face were the outstanding example.

An opera company may have to put on performances with inadequate singers in some of the important roles; but it is difficult to understand a record company recording an opera with such singers—and specifically Urania recording "Die Meistersinger" with as bad a tenor as Bernd Aldenhoff. In addition there are Lemnitz with her voice in more deteriorated condition than on other recent records, and Ferdinand Frantz with the coarseness of his voice made worse by recording that has all the singers too close to the microphone, and the orchestra, as a result, barely audible behind them. This version is in all ways inferior to the London Act 2; Columbia's Bayreuth Festival recording I haven't yet heard. But I can report that the most beautiful singing of Sachs's monologues I have heard on records is Hans Hotter's (Decca); and with it is similar singing of excerpts from "The Flying Dutchman" and "Die Walküre." The orchestral sound is dim; surfaces are gritty; and the space on the envelope that should be given to the texts is as usual given to chit-chat.

The great event in opera recordings is of course RCA Victor's transference to LP of the "Traviata" performance broadcast by Toscanini in 1946. A musician I know once remarked that records ought to give us the performances we hear normally, with the imperfections that make them the products of fallible human powers; and I take Toscanini's willingness to release the "Traviata" recording to indicate his own shift from his insistence that records must go out with nothing less than absolute perfection, to an acceptance on records of the imperfections he could not prevent in his broadcast performances and their sound on the air. As a result the world now has a recording of "La Traviata" which, even with its imperfections—Merrill's bawling, Toscanini's own tenseness in the first half, the compressed recorded sound—gives us the work "as fresh and glistening as creation itself."

The all-too-distinct German words are disturbingly incongruous in the passages from "La Traviata" that are superbly sung by Cebotari, Roswaenge, and Schlusnus with the chorus and orchestra

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of the Berlin State Opera directed by Steinkopf (Urania). The recording distorts the voices occasionally.

Another important opera recording is the one of the second-act duet from "Tristan und Isolde" beginning with *O sink hernieder* and continuing to the end, sung by Flagstad, Svanholm, and Constance Shacklock with the Philharmonia Orchestra directed by Böhm (Victor). It is good to have this wonderful passage without the old Metropolitan cut after Brangaene's first warning that was made in the Flagstad-Melchior version, and with her second warning sung; but it is not so good to have Svanholm's harsh and loud singing in place of the astonishingly agreeable tone and sensitive inflection that Melchior achieved with a threadbare voice. Bass and treble must be stepped up; volume is not constant; surfaces are not quiet. On the reverse side is the previously issued first-act narrative with Flagstad and Höngen.

For the rest, a good "Faust," with superb singing by Steber (Columbia), and a good "Carmen" (Victor).

With one of the greatest of Balanchine's ballets, "Apollo," added, and two others, "The Fairy's Kiss" and "The Four Temperaments," restored to a repertory that includes his "Concerto Barocco," "Card Game," "Symphonie Concertante," "The Prodigal Son," "Serenade," and "Bourrée Fantasque"; with Balanchine in addition offering a new work, "Tyl Eulenspiegel," and his renovation of "Swan Lake"; and with Frederick Ashton also contributing a new work, "Tintagel"—the New York City Ballet's coming season at the City Center promises to be extraordinarily brilliant.

CONTRIBUTORS

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OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, has recently published "The Uprooted."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Author's Objections

Dear Sirs: It is regettable to note that Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, who has a reputation as an imaginative historian, has proved himself—in his review of my book, "In Defense of the National Interest" in the September 8 issue of your magazine—to be also an imaginative reviewer, who obviously has limited his research in the main to the blurb and the table of contents. Let me point out the most glaring of the misstatements of fact of which Mr. Taylor has been guilty, and point in passing to some of the patent absurdities of his own position.

1. "He attacks American foreign policy as utopian, sentimental, legalistic." What I have actually done is to point to the process of forgetting the errors of the recent past, such as utopianism, sentimentalism, legalism, and isolationism, and of remembering the great truths of early American statecraft, in which American foreign policy is at present engaged.

2. "The theme is not so new as Mr. Morgenthau makes out. Though he quotes only Toynbee and Winston Churchill, plenty of modern writers have emphasized the dangers of utopianism in foreign policy." Nowhere have I claimed that the theme of my book is new. Quite to the contrary, the whole argument tries to apply the lessons of the past, as exemplified by the foreign policies of Washington, Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Pitt, Castlereagh, Disraeli, Salisbury, to the present. Since, however, Mr. Taylor raises the point, where are the "plenty of modern writers" who have pointed to the dangers of utopianism in American foreign policy?

3. "Mr. Morgenthau admires Metternich; it was ideas that brought Metternich down." I have expressed admiration of Metternich neither in this book nor elsewhere; the name of Metternich is not even mentioned in the book. The name of Metternich is, however, mentioned in the blurb!

Here and elsewhere in his review Mr. Taylor implies that I am opposed to "ideas" and "ideals," whatever that may mean. What I have actually opposed in this book is the confusion between a nation's national interest and power, of which the moral quality of its principles and actions form an important part, and the assumption of a moral mission to make the world over in its own image, if necessary with fire and sword.

4. "His picture of the world is simple—a conflict for world-mastery between Russia and America. No one else counts; Luxemburg and Great Britain, China and Siam, you can write them all off. Moreover, this is a straight struggle of empires; communism and democracy have nothing to do with it." There are more falsehoods in those three sentences than I am able to dispose of in a letter to the editors. Even a perusal of the table of contents must show that I have paid considerable attention to the strength of the countries of both Europe and Asia, and that I had something to say about the moral revolution of our age in the form of the rise of the political religion of Bolshevism and of the revolt of Asia.

5. "The truth is that Mr. Morgenthau, like all realists from Metternich onward, is a system-maker. Foreign policy will not satisfy him unless it is universal. A more realistic approach would forget all about the struggle for the world and set its attention on the problems as they turn up. For example, if we could settle the German problem, there would be peace in Europe for a long time; if we could settle Korea and Formosa, there would be peace in Asia—until the next explosion."

As a general statement concerning the relationship between realism in foreign policy and system-making, this is demonstrably absurd. From Pitt and Castlereagh through Disraeli and Bismarck to Churchill, all the realists have been blamed by their opponents as being opportunists, devoid of principles, without a system. As concerns my own position, what Mr. Taylor suggests by way of argument is exactly what I have advocated in this book and elsewhere as the practical steps toward peace which should be taken by the United States.

To give only three samples of the patent absurdities of Mr. Taylor's own position, he criticizes me for overrating the material strength of the Soviet Union; he claims that the United States is ten times stronger than the Soviet Union, and that this disparity of

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strength provides the key to Soviet policy. If Mr. Taylor were correct, then obviously the foreign policies of both the United States and the Soviet Union would be insane; those of the United States for not using that overwhelming power, and those of the Soviet Union for attempting to resist it. The truth of the matter is, of course, that there is nobody in the councils of the American government—and, we can be sure, of the Soviet government as well—who takes even approximately so favorable a view of the power of the United States.

Mr. Taylor criticizes me for not understanding that "communism is the principal Soviet asset. If the czar still ruled Russia, the balance of power would be already in complete collapse; the whole world would be at the disposal of Washington." Does Mr. Taylor suggest that if a czar's government would command 200 Russian divisions and an air force and a submarine fleet second to none, the lack of Communist ideology would deprive this military establishment of its striking power?

Mr. Taylor is critical of my opinion that the struggle in Asia is for the minds of men, while the struggle in Europe is primarily a military one. "Yet the Russians are strongest ideologically in Asia and strongest militarily in Europe; therefore, according to realism, we should fight them on ground of their choosing." Does Mr. Taylor suggest that we should fight the Russian armies in Europe with ideological weapons and oppose the revolutions of Asia with armies?

Chicago HANS J. MORGENTHAU

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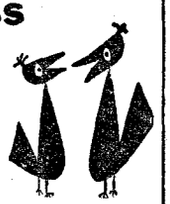

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Reviewer's Rejoinder

Dear Sirs: Mr. Morgenthau is entitled to make any criticism he likes of my review except to say that I did not read his book. If I misunderstood it, the fault is perhaps not all on one side. I am still bewildered. What is the difference (his point one) between "attacking American foreign policy" and listing "the errors of the recent past"? If they are no longer being made, there was no purpose in criticizing them. The real points of difference between us are brought out at the end; and there I am unrepentant. Mr. Morgenthau says that the relationship of the United States to the Soviet Union is as 100 to 70. Soviet steel production claimed to be 27,000,000 tons last year which is probably an exaggeration. American steel production, before the rearmament drive, was 90,000,000 tons. I am pretty confident that America's atomic power in relation to Russia's is more than ten to one. If you add America's allies, the difference is even greater. It is true that both American and Soviet policy is "insane," though it does not follow that America should use its power or that the Soviet Union should not resist it.

Further, it seems to me obvious that if there were no Communist movement in Europe or Asia, Russia would be no great headache—this despite the 200 divisions that are paraded round by every writer like so many turnip-ghosts. Russia has always had an enormous army on paper which has kept statesmen awake at night; they would have been better asleep. Of course Europe has to be defended. An ideological struggle can be conducted in Europe with some chance of success because we have ideals which can appeal to Europeans, but I doubt whether these ideals count for much in Asia. The best we can hope for in Asia is a color revolution which will turn against the Russians as well as ourselves.

I apologize for assuming that Mr. Morgenthau, like most authors, writes his own blurb. But surely at least he reads it and can correct it if it is wrong.

Oxford, England A. J. P. TAYLOR

A Fifth Estate

Dear Sirs: I should like to comment upon Morris Mitchell's Fever Spots in American Education (*The Nation,* October 27), in which he argues that the attacks upon public-school education come from "four related groups—real-estate conservatives, super-patriots, dogma peddlers, and race haters."

If I may generalize from what I know about the situation in Minneapolis, which is second on his list of fever spots, opposition to progressive education is not confined to the four groups he mentions. In Minneapolis, at least, there is a fifth group, which consists of people who own little if any real estate, wave no flags, peddle no dogmas, and hate no races; people who are genuinely interested in good public education, but who disapprove of much that goes on in the public schools. If this fifth group exists in other parts of the country—and I believe that it does—Mr. Mitchell does wrong to ignore it. For people in this group may construe his article as an attempt to smear anyone who is critical of educational policies in the public schools, even though he may not—and probably he does not—intend it as such. They may conclude that their efforts to dissociate themselves from the other four groups have been in vain. MARTIN STEINMANN, JR.

Minneapolis, Minn.

How to Fight Segregation

Dear Sirs: A few interested people have joined the Congress of Racial Equality in purchasing shares of Greyhound stock in order to compel the company to review its policy of segregation—which has been declared unconstitutional—at the next Greyhound stockholders' meeting. Some of these new shareholders have written the company management urging that the issue of segregation be placed on the agenda of the next annual meeting. The secretary refused the request, ignoring the legal aspect of the question, and stated that proposals urged for "propaganda purposes" or constituting a "general political, social, or economic problem" are not proper subjects for action by the stockholders.

These stockholders have now retained an attorney to institute proceedings before the Securities Exchange Commission to require the company to include the segregation issue on the agenda of the next annual meeting.

The expense of the legal action we have now taken may amount to as much as $1,000. Contributions, however modest, would be very welcome and should be sent, together with all other communications, to C. O. R. E., 513 West 166th Street, New York 32.

CAROLINE F. URIE

South Euclid, Ohio

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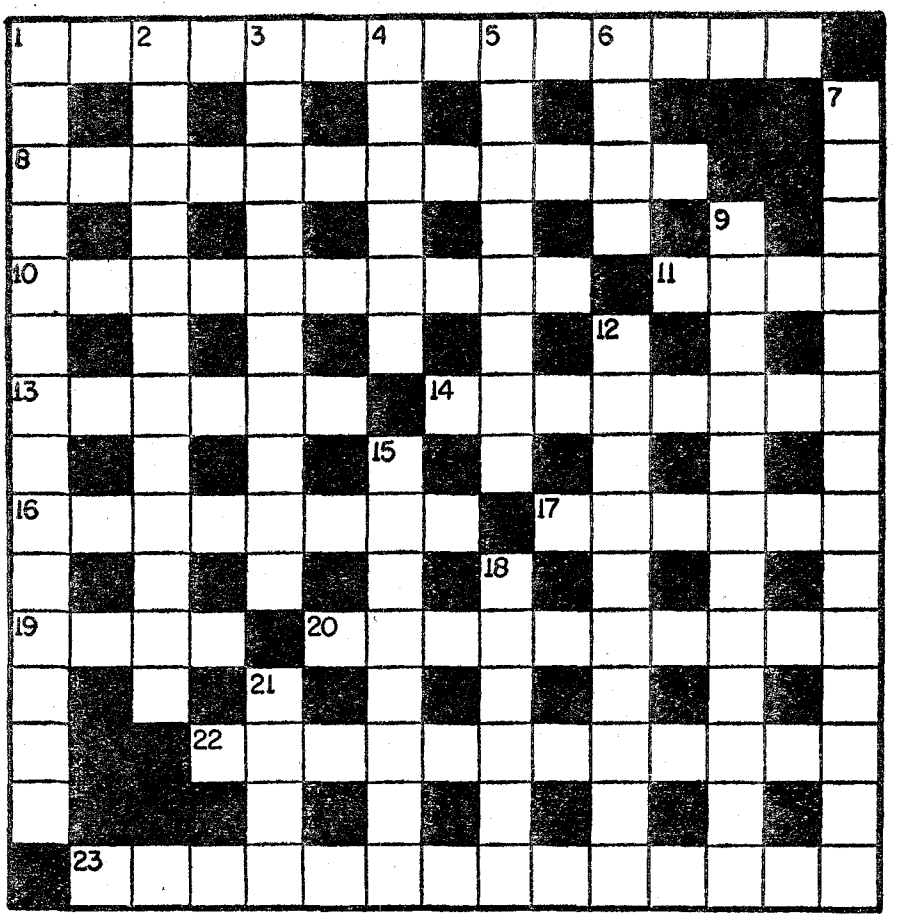
Crossword Puzzle No. 438

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The sort of predeterminist that is not understood. (Tongue twisted, no doubt!) (14)
8 Chapters go on being abracadabra and mumbo-jumbo! (6-6)
10 Boat that gets the party under way. (10)
11 Half speed in China? (4)
13 Where some Britishers go for amusement is something to talk about. (6)
14 Not quite sure about an upset boat? Might be the work of one! (8)
16 Longfellow's forest was. (8)
17 See 7 down.
19 Esau brings back the proper style. (4)
20 Tale of the gingham dog and the calico cat? (6, 4)
22 The true character of a debauched fellow confused between a Russian and Spanish girl. (4, 8)
23 Shrink before crossing? Game for it, anyway. (8, 6)

DOWN

1 A broken hip seems to help like the very devil! (14)
2 The projector of a poster notice. (12)
3 Dry fruit biscuit? Or just a crazy under-privileged southeasterner? (10)
4 Search for a scab here. (6)
5 Indicates a setting. (China is over it.) (5, 3)
6 Blood and a giant are altered accordingly. (4)
7 and 17 across. More or less disagreeable things? (11, 3, 6)
9 Straight over it! (5, 2, 1, 4)
12 Animal found exclusively in California? (6, 4)
15 What a sight! Father correlative to a mother! (8)
18 It's art, perhaps, in a narrow sense. (6)
21 Fly smack up! (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 437

ACROSS:— 1 REST HOME; 5 SCARCE; 9 CHAPLET; 10 WOMBATS; 11 PERFORM; 12 NURSERY; 13 WATER MOCCASIN; 15 SHOOT THE WORKS; 21 HEIFERS; 22 SAVANTS; 23 WRITERS; 24 ECLIPSE; 26 ASBESTOS.

DOWN:—1 RECIPE; 2 SPARROW; 3 HOLD OUT; 4 METAMORPHOSIS; 6 CAMBRIC; 7 and 25 READERS DIGEST; 8 ESSAYING; 10 WINDOW WASHERS; 14 ESCHEWED; 16 OPINING; 17 THESEUS; 18 REVOLVE; 19 SUNSPOT; 20 USHERS.

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